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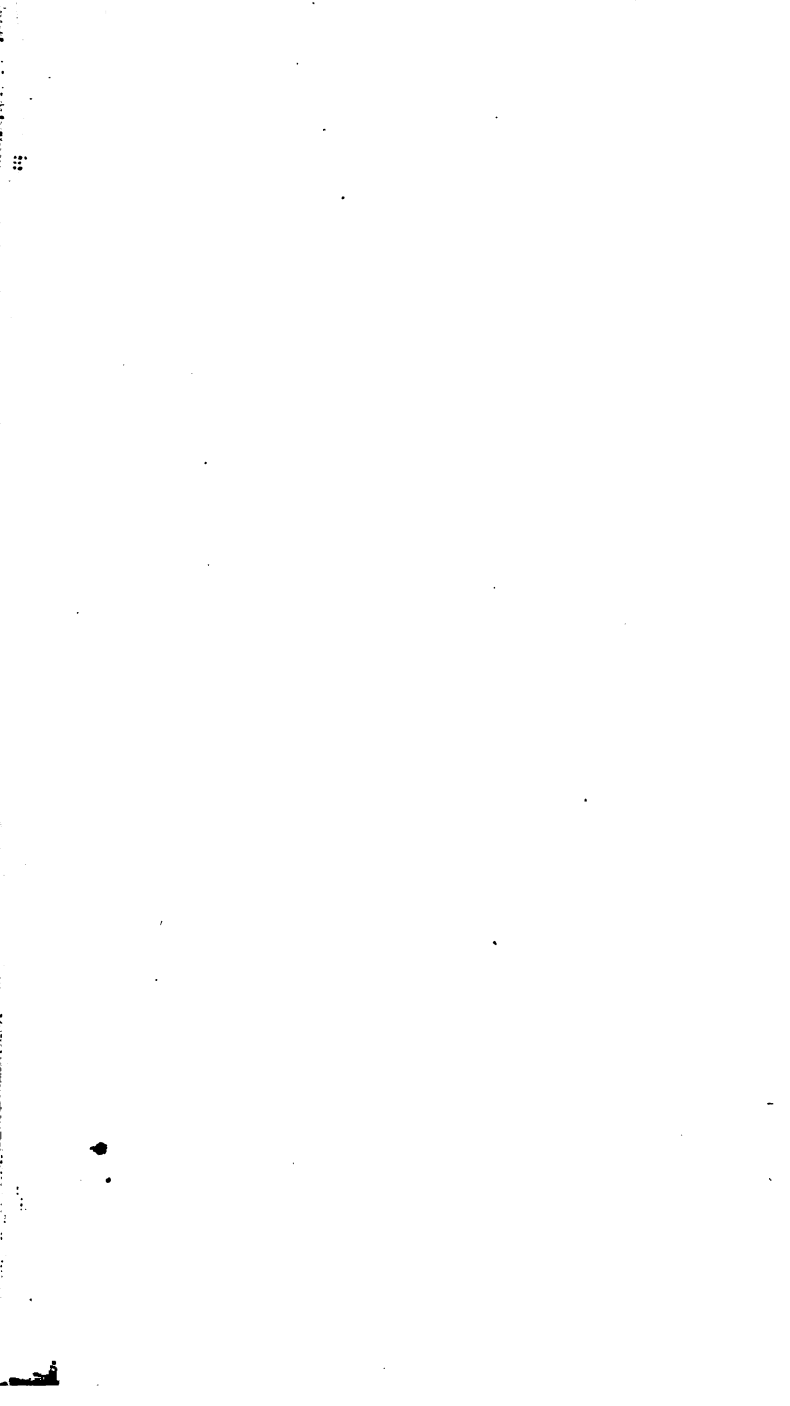
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Guthlac, Saint. Legend. Vita Felicis

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ANGLO-SAXON VERSION

OF THE
WYCLIFFE

LIFE OF ST. GUTHLAC,

Hermit of Crowland.

ORIGINALLY WRITTEN IN LATIN, BY

FELIX (COMMONLY CALLED) OF CROWLAND.

Now first printed from a MS. in the Cottonian Library.

WITH A TRANSLATION AND NOTES,

BY

CHARLES WYCLIFFE GOODWIN, M.A.

FELLOW OF CATHARINE HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON :

JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,

4, OLD COMPTON STREET, SOHO SQUARE.

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PREFACE.

THE Life of St. Guthlac, Hermit of Crowland, was originally written in Latin by one Felix, of whom nothing is with certainty known, further than what appears upon the face of his work.* From its being dedicated to Alfwold, king of the East-Angles, it may be conjectured that the author was an inmate of some monastery within the realm of East-Anglia; and he cannot have written later than A. D. 749,—the year of Alfwold's death. Though not personally acquainted with Guthlac, Felix drew his materials from persons who had known and conversed with the saint, and notwithstanding the

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*Vita S. Guthlaci in Acta Sanctorum
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marvellous colouring given to the incidents related, the memoir may be regarded as, upon the whole, authentic, and as a curious picture of the belief and habits of the age.

Upon the work of Felix is founded the poetical
✓ Legend of St. Guthlac, contained in that singular col-
✓ lection of Anglo-Saxon poetry the Codex Exoniensis.
Less important, but not without its value to the student of our ancient literature, is the prose version in the same language, now for the first time given to the public. When and by whom this translation was made is unknown; the style is not that of Ælfric, to whom it has been groundlessly ascribed. The florid rhetoric of Felix is much pruned and cropped, but without the omission of any material incidents; the writer often paraphrases rather than translates, and in truth sometimes quite mistakes the sense of the original.

Only one MS. of this version is known to exist, preserved in the Cottonian collection, in the volume marked Vespasian D. xxi. But amongst the contents of the MS. known as the Codex Vercellensis is an extract comprising two chapters of the Life of Guthlac. For a transcript of this most interesting

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fragment I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Benjamin Thorpe. It is curious, as presenting a text very different from the Cottonian copy ; indeed it has almost the appearance of being part of an independent translation, though I believe this is not really the case. I have given all the variations of importance in the notes at the end of the volume.

The Cottonian MS. is written in a very fair, neat hand, and, according to Wanley, is the work of the scribe who wrote the Bodleian Heptateuch, which latter he assigns to a date shortly after the Conquest. I have followed carefully the variable spelling and capricious use of the accent, which are as characteristic of writings of the Anglo-Saxon period as punctilious uniformity in orthography is of our own.

I have made here and there such alterations as the received rules of accidence or syntax seemed to require, and the reading of the MS. will always be found in the margin, so that the reader may judge for himself. The original Latin has suggested an emendation occasionally where the text was evidently corrupt, and the Vercelli Fragment supplies a few valuable readings.

In accordance with the prevailing fashion of

editing Anglo-Saxon books, a translation is supplied, in which literalness is chiefly aimed at. It may serve, however, to make the contents of the book accessible to others besides students of Anglo-Saxon; and at the present day, when there seems a growing disposition to read history at first hand, some persons may be curious to study the portraiture of a Saxon hermit drawn by a cotemporary.

C. W. G.

LONDON: Nov. 1st, 1847.

CORRIGENDA.

P. 13, l. 8. *For reward read crown.*

P. 48, title to chap. ix. *For begæn read begiten.*

P. 96, l. 13. *The MS. has mægða, but correct mægðe.*

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THE LIFE
OF
ST. GUTHLAC.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS

DE

VITA SCI. GUTHLACI.

URUM Wealdende riht-gelyfendum a worulda woruld, minum þam leofestan hlaforde ofer ealle oðre men eorðlice kyningas:—Alfwold East-Engla kyning, mid rihte and mid gerisenum rice healdend:—Felix þone rihtan geleafan gesette eallum geleafullum Godes folcum and ecere gesundfulnysse hælo and gretincge gesende.¹ Þinum wordum and bebodum ic hyrsumode; ða boc ic gesette þe þu ahtest, be life þære² arwurðan gemynde Guðhlaces hluttrum wordum and tacnum. Ic forþan halsige and bidde þone gelæredan and þone geleaffullan, gif he her hwylc hleahterlic word onfinde, þæt he þæt us ne wíte; ac gemune and geþence ælc þara tælendra and hleahterfulra, þæt³ on [wordum] Godes rice ne wunað ac on ánwylnysse þæs halgan geleafan; and þa hælo middaneardes gemune⁴ and geþence na fram idelum þancum geþoht, ac fram fiscerum gebodod and gesæd. Ac gif hwylc

¹ MS. gesend.

² MS. þa on Godes rice ne wuniað.

³ MS. þæs.

⁴ MS. ac gemune.

PROLOGUE.

TO the truly-believing in our Lord, for ever and ever, to my dearest lord above all other men, earthly kings:—Alfwold, king of the East-Angles, rightly and worthily holding the kingdom:—I, Felix, have set forth the true belief, and the blessing of eternal salvation for all God's faithful people, and send greeting. Thy words and commands I have obeyed; the book which thou bespakest I have composed, concerning the life of Guthlac, of venerable memory, with clear words and testimonies. I therefore beg and beseech the learned and the faithful, if he here find any ridiculous phrase, that he blame us not therefore. But let each of these censorious and derisive persons reflect and consider that God's kingdom standeth not in [eloquence] but in steadfastness of the holy faith; and reflect and consider that the salvation of earth was not devised with light thoughts, but was preached and declared by fishermen. And if any man censure our attempt

man ure angin and weorc tæle (swa ic menige wat on Angel-cynne mid þam fægerum stafum gegylde, fægere¹ and glæwlice gesette, þæt hig þas boc sylfe² settan mihton), ne wíte he þonne us swa [we]³ neode and hæse gehyrsumodon⁴ and word gefyldon. Forþan lá þu leornere gif þu mid þan þeawe tælendra me hleahtrige, warna þe sylfne þær þu þe hleahtres wene, þæt þu þær semninga ne wurðe mid dymnysse þystro ablend. Þæt bið blindra þeaw þonne hi⁵ on leohte beoð, þæt hig sylfe nyton buton hi on þeostrum dwelion. On halgum gewrihtum bið oft unwisdom [blindnes]⁶ geciged, forþon se fruma ealles yfeles ærest þonan cymð. For þisum þingum þonne þu leornere ic þe manige þæt þu þa fremdan ne tæle, þelæs þu fram oþrum eft swá fremde getæled sig. Ac þylæs ic lenge þone þanc hefige þara leornendra mid ge-segenum þara fremdra tælnysse, swa swa ic⁷ strange sæ and mycele oferliðe, and nu becume to þære smyltestan hyðe, Guðlaces lifes. Forþon þu abæde æt me þæt ic þe wríte and sæde be þære drohtnunge Guðlaces and his lifes bysene, ic þe forþon hyrsu-mode and ic forþon wríte swa me þa dihteras sædon þe his lif geornost cuðon; ærost hwylc wære se fruma oþþe on hwylcum ende he hit eft gelædde. For þisum þingum ic þas boc⁸ sette; þæt þa þe his lif þæs eadigan weres cuðon, þæt him þonne þig

¹ MS. fæger. ² MS. sylf. ³ [we] not in MS. ⁴ MS. gehyrsum.

⁵ MS. he. ⁶ [blindnes] not in MS. ⁷ MS. seo. ⁸ MS. bec.

and work (as I know many in England who might have written this book themselves, gilded with fair letters, fairly and cleverly composed), let him not blame us who have but obeyed compulsion and command, and fulfilled an order. Therefore, O! learner, if thou deridest me after the manner of censurers, take heed to thyself, lest whilst thou thinkest of laughter, thou become suddenly blinded by the obscurity of darkness. It is the manner of blind men when they are in the light, that they know not but that they wander in the dark. In the holy Scriptures folly is often called [blindness], because from thence comes the beginning of all evil. For this cause I admonish thee, O! learner, that thou censure not strangers, lest thou be afterwards as a stranger censured by others. But lest I longer weary the mind of learners by talking of the censure of strangers, I sail as it were over a strong and mighty sea, and now come to that most quiet haven, the life of Guthlac. As thou didst require of me that I should write and relate concerning the conversation of Guthlac and the example of his life, I have accordingly obeyed thee, and I write as those informants told me who knew his life most accurately; in the first place what was its beginning, and then to what end he brought it. For this cause I have composed this book, that as for those who knew the life of the blessed man they may be

geneahhor his lifes to gemyndum come; and þam oðrum þe hit ær ne cuþon swá swá ic him rúmne weg and geradne tæhte. þas þingc þe ic her on-wíte, ic geleornode fram gesegenum þæs arwyrðan abbodes Wilfrides. Swilc eac manige oðre me þæt sædon, þe mid þam eadigan were wæron and his lif hira eagum ofersawon. Ne tweoge ic aht þa mine dihteras þæt hi mihton gemunan and eall asecgan þa wundru þises eadigan weres; wæron hi swiðe wíde cuðe and mære geond Angel-cynnes land. Ic forþon þinum bebodum hyrsumede and þin word and willan hæbbe gefylled and þæt gewrit þisse andweardan hyrde swá ic mihte mid wisdomes minra¹ foregengena and þæra² yldrena gesette; þone fruman on þam fruman ic gesette, and þone ende in þam ende.

¹ MS. minre.² MS. þære.

the more abundantly reminded of his life; and that to others who knew it not before, I might as it were point out a wide and straight way. The things which I here write, I learned from the relation of the venerable abbot Wilfrid. Also many others have related it to me who were with the blessed man, and saw his life with their own eyes. Nor doubt I aught that my informants were able to remember and relate all the wonders of this blessed man; they were very widely known and famous through England. I accordingly have obeyed thy commands, and have fulfilled thy word and will, and I have composed the text of this present book as I best might, with the wisdom of my predecessors and their elders; the beginning I have put in the beginning, and the end at the end.

I.

ON þam dagum Æþelredes þæs mæran kyninges Myrcna, was sum æþel¹ man on þære heh-þeode Myrcna-ric; se wæs haten Penwald. He wæs þæs yldestan and þæs æþelstan cynnes þe Iclingas wæron genemnede. He wæs for worulde welig and myccle gestreon hæfde, and þāpa he welegost wæs and mæst gestreon hæfde, ða gyrnde he him his gemæccan to nymanne. He him þa ana geceas on þæra² mædena heape þe þær fægorost wæs and æþelestan kynnes; seo wæs gehaten Tette: and hi þa samod wæron oð þone fyrst þæt God foresceawode þæt þæt wif mid bearne geeacnod wæs. Ða se tíma com þæt heo þæt bearn cennan scolde, þa sǣmninga com tacn of heofenum, and þæt bearn³ swytelice mid inseglum beclysde: efne, men gesawon ane hand on þam fægerestan readan hiwe of heofonum cumende; and seo hæfde ane gyldene róde, and wæs æteowod manegum mannum, and helde toward toforan þæs huses duru þær þæt cild inne acenned wæs. Ða men þa ealle þe þæt gesawon þiderweard efeston þæt hig þæt tacn swutelicor geseon woldon and ongitan. Seo hánd þa gewende mid þære róde up to heofonum. Ða men þa ealle þe þæt tacn gesawon, hi hi þa ealle on eorðan astrehton, and God bædon þæt he heom geswutelian scolde hwæt þæt tacn and þæt forebeacn beon scolde þe him þær

¹ MS. æþela.² MS. þære.³ MS. tacn.

I.

IN the days of Æthelred, the famous king of the Mercians, there was a noble man of the province of Mercia, who was called Penwald. He was of the oldest and noblest family, who were named Iclings. He was in worldly things wealthy and had great riches, and when he was wealthiest and had the most riches, he desired to take to himself a wife. He chose from the multitude of maidens the one who was fairest, and of the noblest kin; she was called Tette. And they were together until the time that God ordained that the woman became with child. When the time came that she should give birth to the child, suddenly there came a sign from heaven, and clearly as with a seal marked out the child. Lo! men saw a hand of the fairest red hue coming from heaven; and it held a golden rood, and was manifested to many men, and it leaned forward before the door of the house wherein the child was born. Thereupon all the men who saw it hastened thitherward, that they might more clearly see and understand the sign. The hand then returned with the rood up to heaven. Then all the men who saw the sign, stretched themselves on the earth, and prayed God that he would show them what that sign and portent should be, which was there so un-

swá færlíce æteowod wæs. Ða hi þa þæt gebed gefylled heafdon, þa com þær sum wif mid miccle rædlicnyssse yrnan of þam huse þe þæt cild inne acenned wæs, and cleopode, and cwæð þus to þam mannum : Beoð ge stapolfæste and gehyrte, forþan þæs toweardan wuldres man on þisum middanearde her ys acenned. Ða hi þa men þæt word gehyrdon, þa spræcon hig heom betwynan þæt þæt wære godcundlic tacn þe þær ætywed wæs, forþon þe þæt bearn þær acenned wæs. Sume hig þonne cwædon þæt þurh godcunde stihunge þære¹ ecan eadignysse him wære seo gifu forestihtod, þæs haliges tacnes þe him æt his acennednyssse ætywad wæs. Wæron men swiþe wundriende be þære wisan and be þam tacne þe þær ætywed wæs : and efne ær þon þe sunne² on setl eode hit wæs ofer eall middel Engla-land cuð and mære.

II.

Ða þæs ymbe eahta niht þæs þe mon þæt cild brohte to þam halgan þwéale fulwihte-bæþes, ða wæs him nama sceapen of þæs cynnes gereorde and of þære þeode Guþlac, swa hit wære of godcundlicre stihunge gedón, þæt he swa genemned wære : forþon swá þa wisan leorneras secgað on Angel-cynne þæt se nama standeð on twam³ gewritum : Guðlac se nama ys on romanisc, Belli múnus : forþon þeah he mid woruldlice⁴ geswince menige earfoðnyssse adreah, and þeah mid gecyrrednyssse þa gife þære ecan eadignysse mid

¹ MS. in þære ece.

² MS. sunna.

³ MS. feawum.

⁴ MS. woruldlicre.

expectedly displayed to them. When they had ended this prayer, a woman came in great haste running out of the house wherein the child was born, and said thus to the men: Be firm and of good heart, for a man of future glory is born here on this earth. When the men heard this word, they said among themselves, that it was a divine sign that was there showed to them, inasmuch as the child was born there. Some of them then said, that by divine providence the gift of eternal bliss was fore-ordained to him, in virtue of the holy sign that was shown to them at his birth. Men were much amazed at the matter and at the sign which was there displayed; and behold, ere the sun set it was known and famous over all the middle of England.

II.

About eight nights afterwards, when they brought the child to the holy laver of baptism, a name was given him from the appellation of the family and from the clan, Guthlac, as though it were done by divine providence, that he should be thus named. For thus the wise teachers in England say, that the name consists of two terms; the name Guthlac is in Latin, *Belli munus*; for that he not only endured many troubles with worldly labour, but also by conversion received the gift of eternal bliss with the

sige eces lifes onfenge, and swá mid þam apostolum cweþende: *Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem; quia cum probatus fuerit accipiet coronam vite quam repromisit dominus diligentibus sé.* Þæt ys on englisc: Eadig man bið, cwæð he, se þe her on worulde manigfealdlice geswincnysse and earfoðnysse dreogeð, forþon mid þam þe he gecostod bið and geswenced, þonne onfehð he ecum beage; and þæt God gehet eallum þam þe hine lufiað. After þon þe he wæs aþwegen mid þam þweale þæs halgan fulluhtes, ða wæs he eft to þære fæderlican healle gelædd and þær gefedd. Mid þam þe seo yld com þæt hit spreca mihte æfter cniht-wisan, þonne wæs he nawiht hefig, ne unhyrsum his yldrum on wordum, ne þam þe hine feddon, nænigum oþþe yldran oþþe gingran. Ne he cnihtlice galnysse næs begangende, ne idele spel-lunge folcricra manna, ne úngeliclice olæcunge, ne leaslicetunge: ne he mistlice fugela¹-sangas ne wurpode, swá oft swa cnihtlicu yldo begæð. Ac on his scearpnysse þæt he weox, and wearð glæd on his ansyne, and hluttur and clæne on his mode, and bilwíte on his þeawum. Ac on him wæs se scima gastlicre beorhtnysse swá swyðe scinende, þæt ealle þa men þe hine gesawon on him geseon mihton þa þing þe him towearde wæron. Ða wæs æfter siðfate þæt mægen on him weox and gestipode on his geogoðe, þa gemunde he þa strangan dæda þara un-manna and þæra woruld-frumena; he þa, swa he of

¹ MS. fugelas.

victory of eternal life, saying thus with the apostle : *Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem, quia cum probatus fuerit accipiet coronam vite, quam repromisit Dominus diligentibus se.* That is in English : Blessed is the man, saith he, who here in the world endureth manifold labours and troubles, for whereas he is tempted and tried, then receiveth he the everlasting reward ; and this hath God promised to all who love him. After he was washed in the laver of holy baptism, he was led to his father's hall and there nourished. When the age came that the child should speak in child-fashion, he was no whit dull, nor disobedient to his parents in their commands, nor to those who nurtured him, either elder or younger. Nor was he addicted to boyish levities, nor the vain talk of vulgar men, nor unseemly fawning, nor lying flattery. Nor did he study the various cries of birds, as childish age is often wont. But he grew up in sharpness, and was blithe in countenance, and pure and clean in his disposition, and innocent in his ways. And in him was the lustre of divine brightness so shining, that all men who saw him could perceive in him the promise of what should hereafter happen to him. After a time, when his strength waxed and he grew up to manhood, then thought he on the strong deeds of the heroes, and of the men of yore. Then, as though he

slæpe onwoce, wearð his mod oncyrrred, and he gesomnode miccle scôle and wered his geþoftena and hys efen-hæfdlingas, and him sylf to wæpnum feng. þa wræc he his æfþancas on his feondum, and heora burh bærnde and heora tūnas oferhergode; and he wīde geond eorþan menigfeald wæl felde and sloh and of mannum heora æhta nam. þa wæs he semninga innan manod godcundlice and læred þæt he þa word hete, ealle þa he swa [genam]¹ he het þriddan dæl agifan þam mannum þe he hit ær ongenæmde. Ða wæs ymbe nigon winter þæs þe he þa ehtnysse begangende wæs se eadiga Guthlac, and he hine sylfne betweox þises andweardan middaneardes wealcan dwelode.² þa gelamp sume nihte³ mid þam þe he com of farendum wege, and he hys þa werigan lima reste, and he menig þing mid his mode þohte; Ða wæs he færinga mid Godes ege onbryrd, and mid gastlicre lufan his heorte innan gefylled: and mid þy he awoc he geþohte þa ealdan kyningas þe iú wæron,⁴ þurh earmlicne deað and þurh sarlicne utgang þæs mánfullan lifes, þe þas woruld forleton; and þa micclan welan þe hig ær-hwilon ahton he geseh on hrædlicnysse ealle gewitan; and he geseah his agen lif dæghwamlice to þam ende efstan and scyndan. Ða wæs he sæmninga mid þam godcundan egesan innan swá swyþe onbryrdded, þæt he andette Gode gif he him þæs mergen-dæges geunnan wolde, þæt he his þeow

¹ [Genam] not in MS. ² MS. weolc 7 welode. ³ MS. niht.

⁴ MS. and mid þy he geþohte þa ealdan kyningas þa iú wæron he awoc þurh, etc.

had woke from sleep, his disposition was changed, and he collected a great troop and host of his companions and equals, and himself took weapons. Then wreaked he his grudges on his enemies, and burned their city, and ravaged their towns, and widely through the land he made much slaughter, and slew and took from men their goods. Then was he on a sudden inwardly admonished of God, and taught that he should thus give command; of all things which he had so taken he bade give back the third part to those from whom he had taken it. It was about nine years that he was thus engaged in hostile raids, the blessed Guthlac, and he thus wandered amidst the tumult of this present world. It happened on one night when he had come from an expedition, and he rested his weary limbs, and thought over many things in his mind, that he was suddenly inspired with divine awe, and his heart within was filled with spiritual love; and when he awoke, he thought on the old kings who were of yore, who thinking on miserable death, and the wretched end of sinful life, forsook this world; and the great wealth which they once possessed, he saw all on a sudden vanish; and he saw his own life daily hasten and hurry to an end. Then was he suddenly so excited inwardly with godly fear, that he vowed to God, if he would spare him till the morrow, that he would be his servant. When the darkness of

beon wolde. Mid þy þære nihte þystro gewíton and
 hit dæg wæs, þa arás he and hine sylfne getacnode
 in segle Cristes rode. Ða bead he his geferum þæt
 hi fundon him oðerne ealdorman and latteow hira
 geferscipe; and he him andette and sæde þæt he
 wolde beon Cristes þeow. Mid þam þe his geferan
 þas word gehyrdon, þa wæron hi swiþe wundriende,
 and swiþe forhte for þam wordum þe hi þær ge-
 hyrdon: þa hi ealle to him aluton and hine bædon
 þæt he næfre þa þing swa gelæste swa he mid
 wordum gecwæð. He þa hwæþere heora worda ne
 gimde, ac þæt ilce þæt he ær gepohte þæt he þæt
 forðlæstan wolde; barn him swá swiþe innan þære
 Godes lufan þæt na læs þæt an þæt he þas woruld
 forseah, ac swilce hys yldrena gestreon and his eard,
 and þa sylfan his heafod-gemacan þæt he þæt eall
 forlet. Ða he wæs feower and twentig wintra eald,
 þa forlet he ealle þas woruld-glenga, and eallne his
 hiht on Crist gesette: and þa æfter þon þæt he
 ferde to mynstre þe ys gecweden Hrypadún, and
 þær þa gerynelican sceare onfeng, Sce Petres
 þæs apostoles under Ælfðryðe abbodysan: and
 syþþan he to sceare and to þam munuc-life feng,
 hwæt he nænigre wætan onbítan nolde þe drun-
 cennys¹ þurh cóme. And þa for þan þingum hine
 þa broðra hatedon, þy he swá forhæbbende wæs:
 and þa raðe syþþan hi þa hlutturlicnysse his modes,
 and þa clænnysse his lifes ongéaton, þæt hig ealle

¹ MS. druncennysse.

night was gone, and it was day, he arose and signed himself with the mark of Christ's rood. Then bade he his companions that they should find them another captain and leader of their company; and he confessed to them, and said that he would be Christ's servant. When his companions heard these words, they were greatly astonished, and very alarmed for the words which they had heard. Then they all bowed to him, and begged him that he never would perform the things which he had in words expressed. He however cared not for their words, but the same thing that he had first intended, that would he perform. God's love burnt so within him, that not only did he despise this world, but also his parents' wealth and his home, and even his companions he all forsook. When he was four and twenty years old, he forsook all the pomps of the world, and set all his hope on Christ. And after that he went to a monastery, which is called Hrypadun, and there received the mystical tonsure of St. Peter the apostle, under abbess Ælfthrytha. And after he had taken the tonsure and the monastic life, lo! he would taste no liquid through which drunkenness comes. And for these things the brethren hated him, because he was so abstinent; but soon after, when they perceived the purity of his mind, and the cleanness of his life, they all loved him. He was in

hine lufedon. Wæs he on ansine mycel and on lichaman clæne, wynsum on his mode, and wlitig on ansyne; he wæs liðe and gemetfæst on his worde, and he wæs gepyldig and eadmod; and á seo godcunde lufu on hys heortan hat and byrnende. Mid þy he þa wæs in stafas and on leornunge getogen, þa girnde he his sealmas to leornianne: þa wæron þa wæstm-berendan breost þæs eadigan weres mid Godes gife gefyllede and mid þam lareowdóme þæs hean magistres Godes, þæt he wæs on godcundlican þeodscipe getyd and gelæred. Mid þam þe he wæs twa gear on þære leornunge, ða hæfde he his sealmas geleornod and canticas, and ymnas, and gebeda æfter cyriclicre endebyrðnysse. Þa ongan he wurðigan þa góðan þeawas þara godra on þam life, eadnysse,¹ and hyrsumnysse, gepyld, and þolemodnysse, and forhæfednysse his lichaman; and ealra þara godra mægen he wæs begangende. Ða ymbe twá winter þæs þe he his lif swa leofode under munuc-hade þæt he þa ongan wilnian westenes and sunder-setle. Mid þy he gehyrde secgan and he leornode be þam ancerum, þe geara on westene and on sundor-settlum for Godes naman wilnodon and heora lif leofodon, ða wæs his heorte innan þurh Godes gifu onbryrdod, þæt he westenes gewilnode. Ða wæs sona ymbe unmanige dagas þæt he him leafe bæd æt þam þeowum þe þær yldest wæron þæt he féran moste.

、 ¹ Perhaps a mistake for eadmodnysse.

figure tall, and pure in body, cheerful in mood, and in countenance handsome ; he was mild and modest in his discourse, and he was patient and humble ; and ever in his heart was divine love hot and burning. When he devoted himself to letters and learning, he was desirous of learning his psalms. Then was the fruitful breast of the blessed man filled with God's grace, and with the teaching of God the great master he became instructed and learned in divine discipline. When he had been two years on this study, he had learned his psalms, and canticles, and hymns, and prayers, after ecclesiastical order. Then began he to study the good observances of the virtuous in that life, gentleness and obedience, patience and long suffering, and abstinence of body ; and he cultivated the virtues of all good men. After he had passed about two years of his life thus in the monastic state, he began to long for the wilderness and a hermitage. When he heard tell and learned concerning anchorites who of yore longed for the wilderness and hermitages for God's name, and passed their lives there, his heart was inwardly inspired with the love of God to long for the wilderness. So then not many days after, he begged leave from the servants [of God] who were the eldest there, that he might depart.

III.

Ys on Breitone-lande sum fenn unmætre mycel-
 nysse þæt onginneð fram Grante eá naht feor
 fram þære cestre, ðy ylcan nama ys nemned Grante-
 ceaster. þær synd unmæte¹ moras, hwilon sweart
 wæter-steal, and hwilon fúle éa-riþas yrnende, and
 swylce eac manige ealand and hreod and beorhgas
 and treow-gewrido, and hit mid menigfealdan big-
 nyssum widgille and lang þurhwunað² on norð-sæ.
 Mid þan se foresprecena wer and þære eadigan
 gemynde Guðlac³ þæs wídgillan westenes þa ungear-
 awan stowe þær gemette, þa wæs he mid godcunde⁴
 fultume gefylst, and þa sona þan rihtestan wege þyder
 togeferde. þa wæs mid þam þe he þyder com þæt he
 frægn þa bigengcan þæs landes, hwær he on þam
 westene him eardung-stowe findan mihte. Mid þy
 hi him menigfeald þing sædon be þære wídgilnysse
 þæs westenes. þa wæs Tátwine gehaten sum man,
 sæde þa þæt he wiste sum ealand synderlice digle,
 þæt oft menige men eardian ongunnon, ac for menig-
 fealdum brogum and egsum, and for annysse þæs
 wídgillan westenes þæt hit nænig man adreogan ne
 mihte, ac hit ælc forþan befluge. Mid þam þe se
 halga wer Guðlac þa word gehyrde, he bæd sona þæt
 he him þa stowe getæhte, and he þa sona swa dyde;
 eode þa on scip, and þa ferdon begen þurh þa rugan
 fennas oþ þæt hi comon to þære stowe þe man hateð

¹ MS. unmætre.² MS þeneð wunað.³ MS. Guðlaces.⁴ MS. godcundre.

III.

There is in Britain a fen of immense size, which begins from the river Granta not far from the city, which is named Grantchester. There are immense marshes, now a black pool of water, now foul running streams, and also many islands, and reeds, and hillocks, and thickets, and with manifold windings wide and long it continues up to the north sea. When the aforesaid man, Guthlac of blessed memory, found out this uncultivated spot of the wide wilderness, he was comforted with divine support, and journeyed forthwith by the straightest way thither. And when he came there he inquired of the inhabitants of the land where he might find himself a dwelling-place in the wilderness. Whereupon they told him many things about the vastness of the wilderness. There was a man named Tatwine, who said that he knew an island especially obscure, which oftentimes many men had attempted to inhabit, but no man could do it on account of manifold horrors and fears, and the loneliness of the wide wilderness ; so that no man could endure it, but every one on this account had fled from it. When the holy man Guthlac heard these words, he bid him straightway show him the place, and he did so ; he embarked in a vessel, and they went both through the wild fens till they came to the spot which is called Crowland ;

Cruwland : wæs þæt land on middan þam westene swá gerád geseted þæs foresædan fennes,¹ swyðe digle, and hit swyþe feawa² men wiston buton þam anum þe hyt him tæhte ; swylc þær næfre nænig man ær eardian ne mihte ær se eadiga wer Guðlac tocom for þære eardunga þara awerigedra gasta. And he þa se eadiga wer Guðlac forhogode sona þa costunge þæra awerigdra gasta, and mid heofonlicum fultume gestrangod wearð, betwyx þa fenlican gewrido þæs widgillan westenes, þæt he ana ongan eardian. Ða gelamp mid þære godcundan stihtunge, þæt he on þa tíð Sce Bartholomei þæs apostoles þæt he com to þam ealande, forþan he on eallum þingum his fultum sohte. And he þa gelufode þære³ stowe digelnysse, and he þa gehet þæt he wolde ealle dagas his lifes þær on þam ealande Gode þeowian. Mid þy he þa unmanige dagas þær wæs, þa geondsceawode he þa þing þe to þære stowe belumpon. Ða þohte he þæt he eft wolde to þam mynstre feran and his gebroðra gretan, forþan he ær fram heom ungegret gewat. Ða þæs on mergen mid þan hit dæg wæs þa ferde he eft to þam mynstre ; þa wæs he þær hundnigantig nihta mid þam broðrum : and þa syþþan he hig grette, he þa eft hwærf to þære stowe þæs leofan westenes mid twam cnihtum. Ða wæs se eahtoða dæg þæs kalendes Septembres, þe man on þa tíð wurðað Sce Bartholomei þæs apostoles, þa se eadiga wer Guðlac com to þære foresprecenan stowe,

¹ MS. fennas.² MS. feawe.³ MS. þa.

this land was in such wise (as he said) situated in the midst of the waste of the aforesaid fen, very obscure, and very few men knew of it except the one who showed it to him ; as no man ever could inhabit it before the holy man Guthlac came thither, on account of the dwelling of the accursed spirits there. And the blessed man Guthlac disregarded the temptation of the accursed spirits, and was strengthened with heavenly support, so that he began to dwell alone among the fenny thickets of the wide wilderness. It fell out, by divine providence, that he came to the island on the day of St. Bartholomew the apostle ; for he sought in all things his support. And he was enamoured of the obscurity of the place, and vowed that he would serve God on that island all the days of his life. When he had been there not many days, he looked about at the things which appertained to the place. Then he thought that he would return again to the monastery, and salute his brethren, for he had before gone away from them without taking leave. So in the morning, when it was day, he went back to the monastery ; there he remained with the brethren ninety nights. And after he had taken leave of them, he returned back again to the place of his beloved wilderness with two servants. It was the eighth day before the kalends of September, which is observed as the day of St. Bartholomew the apostle, when the holy man Guthlac

to Cruwlande, forþon he his fultum on eallum þingum ærest to þam sundor-setle sohte. Hæfde he þa on ylde six and twentig wintra þa he ærest se Godes cempa on þam westene mid heofenlicre gife geweorðod gesæt.¹ Þa sona wið þam scotungum þara werigra gasta þæt he hine mid gastlicum wæpnum gescylde, he nam þone scyld þæs Halgan Gastes geleafan; and hyne on þære byrnan gegearowode þæs heofonlican hihtes; and he him dyde heolm on heafod clænere² geþanca; and mid þam strælum þæs halgan sealm-sanges³ á singallice wið þam awerigedum gastum sceotode and campode. And nu hwæt ys swa swiþe to wundrianne þa diglan mihte ures Drihtnes, and his mildheortnysse domas; hwa mæg þa ealle asecgan! Swá se æþela lareow ealra þeoda Scs Paulus se apostol, þone ure Drihten ælmihtig God fore-stihtode to godspellianne his folce; he wæs ær-þon ehtere his þære halgan cyrcan, and mid þan þe he to Damascum ferde þære byrig, þæt he wæs of þam þystrum gedwolum abroden Iudea ungeleafulnysse mid þam swege heofonlicre stefne; swá þonne þære arwurðan gemynde Guðlac of þære gedrefednysse þissere worulde wæs gelæded to campháde þæs ecan lifes.

¹ MS. geweorðod. Gesæt þa.

² MS. clænere.

³ MS. sealm-sangas.

came to the aforesaid place Crowland, for that he sought his support first in all things in regard to his solitary life. He was six and twenty years of age when, endowed with heavenly grace, God's soldier first settled in the wilderness. Then straightway, that he might arm himself against the attacks of the wicked spirits with spiritual weapons, he took the shield of the Holy Spirit, faith; and clothed himself in the armour of heavenly hope; and put on his head the helmet of chaste thoughts; and with the arrows of holy psalmody he ever continually shot and fought against the accursed spirits. And now how greatly must we admire the secret might of our Lord, and the judgments of his mercy; who can tell them all? As the noble teacher of all nations, St. Paul the apostle, whom our Lord Almighty God fore-appointed to preach the gospel to his people; he was before a persecutor of his holy church, and whilst he journeyed to the city Damascus he was delivered from the dark errors of the Jews' unbelief by the sound of a heavenly voice; so Guthlac of venerated memory was led from the tribulation of this world to the victory of eternal life.

IV.

Be þam halgan were hu he eardode on þære stówe.

Onginne ic nu be ðam life ðæs eadigan weres Guðlaces, swa swa ic gehyrde secgan þa þe his lif cuðon, Wilfrid and Cissa; þonne secge ic swá æfter þære endebyrdnysse. Wæs þær on þam ealande sum hlaw mycel ofer eorðan geworht, þone ylcan men iú geara for feos wilnunga gedulfon and bræcon. Þa wæs þær on oþre sidan þæs hlawes¹ gedolfen swylce mycel wæter-seað wære. On þam seaðe ufan se eadiga wer Guthlac him hus getimbrode, sona fram fruman þæs þe he þæt ancer-setl² gesæt. Þa gepohte he þæt he naðor ne wyllenes hrægles ne línenes brucan nolde, ac on fellenum gegyrelan þæt he wolde ealle his dagas his lifes alifian; and he hit swá forð-gelæstende wæs. Ælce dæge wæs his bigleofan swylc gemetegung³ of þære tíde þe he þæt westen eardigan ongan, þæt he nawiht ne onbyrigde buton berenne⁴ hlafe and wæter; and þonne sunne wæs on setle, þonne þigede he þa⁵ andlyfene þe he bigleofode. Sona þæs þe he westen eardigan ongan, þa gelamp hit sume dæge mid [þy he]⁶ þan gewunelican þeawe his sealm sang and his gebedum befeal, þa se ealda feond man-cynnes (efne swa grymetigende leo, þæt he his costunga attor wíde todæleð,) mid þy he þa his yfelnysses mægen and grymnysse attor

¹ MS. hlawas.

² MS. ancer-setle.

³ MS. to gereorde.

⁴ MS. berene.

⁵ MS. þæs.

⁶ [þy he] not in MS.

IV.

Concerning the holy man, how he dwelt in the place.

I begin now to speak of the life of the blessed man Guthlac, as I have heard those relate who knew his life, Wilfrid and Cissa; and according thereto I tell it in order. There was on the island a great mound raised upon the earth, which same of yore men had dug and broken up in hopes of treasure. On the other side of the mound a place was dug, as it were a great water-cistern. Over this cistern the blessed man Guthlac built himself a house at the beginning, as soon as he settled in the hermit-station. Then he resolved that he would use neither woollen nor linen garment, but that he would live all the days of his life in clothing of skins; and so he continued to do. Each day, from the time that he began to dwell in the wilderness, the abstemiousness of his diet was such, that he never tasted aught but barley-bread and water; and when the sun was set, then took he his food on which he lived. Soon after he began to dwell in the wilderness, it happened one day, when he had, after his wonted custom, sung a psalm and fell to his prayers, that the old enemy of mankind (who, even as a roaring lion, scatters wide the venom of his temptations), whilst he [was scattering abroad] the might of his

[todælde]¹ þæt he mid þan þa menniscan heortan wundode, þa semninga swá he of gebendum bogan his costunge streale on þam mode gefæstnode þæs Cristes ceman. Ða he þa se eadiga wer mid þære geættredan streale gewundod wæs þæs awerigedan gastes, ða wæs his mod þæs eadigan weres swiðe gedrefed on him, be þam onginne þe he ongan þæt westen swá ana eadigan. Mid þam he þa hine hider and þyder gelomlice on his mode cyrde, and gemunde þa ærran synna and leahtras þe he gefremede and geworht hæfde, and þa máran and unmættran² him sylfa dyde þonne he wende þæt he hi æfre gebetan mihte. Ða hæfde hine seo deofollice stráel mid ormodnysse gewundodne : wæs se eadiga wer Guðlac mid þære ormodnysse þri dagas gewundod, þæt he sylfa nyste hwider he wolde mid his móde gecyrran. Ða wæs þy þryddan dæge þære æfter-fylgendan nihte þæt he þam tweogendum gepohtum fæstlice wiðstóð ; and efne swá witedomlice muþe þæt he sang and clypode to Gode, and cwæð : In tribulatione mea invocavi Dominum, et reliqua. Þæt ys on englisc : Min Drihten on minre geswincnysse ic þe to clypige, ac gehyr þu me and gefultuma me on minum earfeðum. Ða wæs sona æfter þon þæt his se getreowa fultum him to com, Scs Bartholomeus ; and na læs þæt he him on slæpe ætywde, ac he wæccende þone apostol on engellicre fægernysse geseah and sceawode. And he þa sona

¹ [todælde] not in MS.

² MS. unmættra.

wickedness and the venom of his cruelty, that he might wound the hearts of men therewith, suddenly, as from a bended bow, he fixed the dart of his temptation in the soul of Christ's soldier. When, therefore, the blessed man was wounded with the poisoned arrow of the accursed spirit, his soul (the blessed man's) was greatly troubled within him, about the undertaking he had begun, namely, to dwell thus alone in the wilderness. Then he turned himself hither and thither continually in his mind, and thought of his former sins and wickednesses which he had committed and wrought, and how that he himself had done greater and more enormous sins than he thought he could ever compensate for. Thus had the devilish arrow wounded him with desperation: the blessed man Guthlac was three days wounded with this despair, so that he himself knew not whither he would turn with his thoughts. It was upon the night following the third day that he firmly withstood these doubting thoughts; and thereupon with prophetic mouth he sang and cried to God, and said: *In tribulatione meâ invocavi Dominum, et reliqua.* That is, in English: My Lord, in my trouble I cry unto thee, and hear thou me, and support me in my tribulations. It was soon after this that his faithful support, St. Bartholomew, came to him, and did not appear to him in sleep, but waking he saw and beheld the apostle in angelic beauty.

se eadiga wer Guðlac swyðe blipe wæs þæs heofon-
 lican cuman; and him sona his heorte and his
 geþanc eall wæs onlihtod; and he þa hrædlice þa
 yfelan and þa twyfealdan geþohtas forlet, and hine
 se heofonlica cuma frefrode, Scs Bartholomeus, and
 hine mid wordum trymede and strangode, and hine
 het þæt he ne tweode, ac þæt he wære ánræd; and
 þæt he him on fultume beon wolde on eallum his
 earfeðum. Ða se halga Guðlac þas word gehyrde
 his þæs getreowan freondes, þa wæs he mid gastlicre
 blisse gefylled, and his geleafan fæste on God sylfne
 getrymede and fæstnode.

V.

Swylce eac gelamp on sumne sæl, mid þy he be
 þære drohtnunge smeade his lifes, hu he Gode
 gecwemlicost mihte lybban, ða comon semninga
 twegen deoflu to him of þære lyfte slidan and þa to
 him cuðlice spræcon and cwædon: We syndon
 gewisse þines lifes, and þines geleafan trumnesse
 we witon, and eac þin geþyld we cunnon úofer-
 swyðed; and þær we þin fandedon, and costodon,
 þæt we mid manigfealde cræfte úre¹ wæpna wið þe
 sendon. We nu heonon-forð nellað þe leng swencan
 ne þe bysmrian; na læs þæt an þæt we þe þæs nu
 nellað lettan þæs þu ær geþoht hæfdest, ac we þe
 eac wyllað secgan be þam eallum þe iu geara westen²

¹ MS. úra.² MS. westene.

And forthwith the blessed man Guthlac was right glad of the heavenly visitor ; and his heart and mind was soon all enlightened, and he quickly let go the bad and desperate thoughts ; and the heavenly visitor, St. Bartholomew, comforted him, and confirmed and strengthened him with his words, and bid him not despair, but be constant ; and said that he would be his support in all his tribulations. When the holy Guthlac heard these words of his faithful friend, he was filled with spiritual joy, and strengthened and fixed his faith firmly upon God himself.

V.

It happened, also, on one occasion, when he was reflecting upon the conduct of his life, how he might live most acceptably to God, there came suddenly two devils to him, sliding down from the air, and they spoke plainly to him, and said : We are acquainted with thy life, and the firmness of thy faith we know, and also we know thy patience to be unconquered ; and therein we tried and proved thee, whilst with manifold craft we directed our weapons at thee. We now henceforth will no longer trouble nor injure thee ; not only will we now cease to hinder thee from that which thou didst first intend, but we will even tell thee respecting all those who of yore inhabited the wilderness, how they lived

eardedon, hu hi heora lif leofodon. Moyses ærest and Helias hi fæston, and swylce eac se Hælend ealles middaneardes on westene he fæste, and eac swylce þa mæran munecas þa mid Ægyptum wæron and þær on westenum wunedon : þa þurh heora forhæfdnysse on heom ealle uncyste ofaslógon and ácwealdon. Þonne gif þu þæt wilnast þæt þu of þe þa ær gefremedan synna aþwéan wylt, þonne scealt þu þinne lichaman þurh forhæfdnysse wæccan; forþon swá myccle swa þu þe her on worulde swyþor swincst, swá þu eft byst on ecnysse fæstlicor getrymed; and swá myccle swá þu on þisum andweardan life má earfoða drigast, swá myccle þu eft on toweardnysse gefehst; and þonne þu on fæsten her on worulde gestihst, þonne bist þu ahafen for Godes eagam. Forþon þin fæsten ne sceal beon þæt an twegra daga fyrst oþþe þreora oþþe ælce dæge, þæt þu þe swá on¹ tela myccle forhæfdnysse ahebbe, ac on seofon nihta fyrstes fæstene biþ to clænsienne þone man. Swá on six dagum ærest God ealles middaneardes fægernysse gehiwode and gefræt wode, and on þam seofon he hine reste, swa þonne gedafenað þam þe gelice þurh six daga fæsten þone gast gefræt wian, and þonne þy sefoðan dæge² mete picgan and þone³ lichaman restan. Ða se eadiga wer Guðlac þas word gehyrde, þa aras he sona and to Gode clypode, and hyne gebæd and þus cwæð : Syn mine fynd, min Drihten God, á on-hinder ge-

¹ MS. on swá.² MS. dæg.³ MS. his.

their lives. Moses first, and Elijah, they fasted, and also the Saviour of all the earth, he fasted in the wilderness; and also the famous monks who were in Egypt and dwelt there in deserts; they, through their abstinence, slew and quelled in themselves all corruption. Therefore, if thou desirest to wash from thee the sins thou didst once commit, thou shouldst afflict thy body with abstinence; because by how much the more severely thou afflictest thyself in this world, by so much the more firmly shalt thou be strengthened to eternity; and by how much thou sufferest more troubles in this present life, so much the more shalt thou receive in future; and when thou advancest here in the world in fasting, thou shalt then be exalted in God's eyes. Therefore thy fasting must not be a space of two or three days, nor on each day, that thou shouldst exalt thyself thereupon as a very great abstinence, but it is necessary by a fast of seven nights' duration to cleanse the man. As on six days God first formed and adorned the beauty of the whole earth, and on the seventh rested himself; so, also, beseems it thee in like manner by six days' fast to adorn the spirit, and then on the seventh day to take meat and to rest the body. When the blessed man Guthlac heard these words, he arose and cried to God, and prayed, and thus said: Let my foes, my Lord God,

cyrde, forþon ic þe ongite and oncnawe, forþon þe þu eart min scyppend. Ða sona æfter þam wordum se awyrigeda gast efne swá smic beforan his ansyne áidlode. He þa forseah þa deofollican láre, for þam þe he ealle þa ydele ongeat; ac þa feng [to]¹ médmycclan bigleofan, þæt wæs to þam berenan hláfe, and þone þigede and his lif bileofode. Ða þa awyrigedan gastas þæt ongeaton þæt he hig ealle forhógode and heora lara, hig þa þæt mid wependre stefne sorhgodon, þæt hi oferswiðde wæron; and se eadiga wer swá gesigefæstod wearð þæt he þa bysmornysse forhogode heora lára and heora costunga. Swylce eac gelámp on sumne sél ymb únmanige dagas þæt he wæccende þa niht on halgum gebedum awunode. Ða on þære nihte stilnysse gelamp semninga, þæt þær comon mycele meniu þara awyrigedra gasta, and hi eall þæt hus mid heora cyme fylدون; and hi on ealce healfe inguton ufan and neoðan and eghwonen. Hi wæron on ansyne egslice and hig hæfdon mycele heafda, and langne sweoran, and mægere² ansyne: hi wæron fúlice and orfyrme on heora beardum; and hi hæfdon³ ruge earan, and woh nebb and reðelice eagan, and fúle muðas; and heora toþas wæron gelíce horses twuxan; and him wæron þa þrotan mid lege gefylde, and hi wæron ongristlice on stefne: hi hæfdon woge sceancan, and mycele cneowu and hindan greate,

¹ [to] not in MS.

² MS. manigre.

³ MS. and ruge earan and hi hæfdon woh nebb.

be for ever turned backwards, for I know and understand thee, that thou art my Maker. Immediately after these words the accursed spirit vanished from before his face like smoke. Then despised he the devilish doctrine, for he understood that it was all vain; and he took a moderate meal, that is, the barley loaf, and ate it, and supported his life. When the cursed spirits understood that he despised them all, and their doctrines, they bewailed with lamentable voice that they were overcome; and the blessed man was so victorious that he despised the blasphemies of their doctrines and of their temptations. Also it happened, on a time not many days after, that he was passing the night waking in holy prayers. Then in the stillness of the night it happened suddenly that there came great hosts of the accursed spirits, and they filled all the house with their coming; and they poured in on every side, from above and from beneath, and everywhere. They were in countenance horrible, and they had great heads, and a long neck, and lean visage; they were filthy and squalid in their beards; and they had rough ears, and distorted face, and fierce eyes, and foul mouths; and their teeth were like horses' tusks; and their throats were filled with flame, and they were grating in their voice; they had crooked shanks, and knees big and great behind, and dis-

and misscrence tán,¹ and hás hrymedon on² stefnum ; and hi þa swá ungemetlicum³ gestundum foron and swá unmetlice⁴ ege, þæt him þuhte þæt hit eall betweox heofone and eorðan hleopode þam egeslicum stefnum. Næs þa nænig yldend to þam þæt syþþan hi on þæt hus comon hi þa sona þone halgan wer eallum limum gebundon, and hi hine tugon and læddon ut of þære cytan, and hine þa læddon on þone sweartan fenn and hine þa on þa horwihtan⁵ wæter bewurpon and besencton. Æfter þon hi hine læddon on þam reðum stowum þæs westenes, betwux þa piccan gewrido þara bremela þæt him wæs eall se lichama gewundod. Mid þy hi þa lange on þære þystrunge hine swa swencton, þa léton hi hine ane hwíle abídan and gestandan ; heton hine þa þæt he of þam westene gewite, oþþe gif he þæt nolde, þonne woldon hi hine mid máran bysmerum swencan and costian. He þa se eadiga wer Guðlac heora worda ne gímde, ac he mid witegiende muðe þus cwæð : Drihten me ys on þa swyþran healfe, forþon ic ne beo oncyrrred fram þe. Ða æfter þan þa awerigedan gastas hine genamon and hine swungon mid isenum swipum, and þa æfter þon hi hine læddon on þam ongryrlican fiðerum betwux þa cealdan faca þære lyfte. Þa he þa wæs on þære heannysse þære lyfte, þa geseah he ealne norð-dæl heofones, swylce he wære þam sweartestan wolcnum ymbseald swiðlicra þeostra. Ða geseah he færinga

¹ MS. mís crocetton.² hás runigendum stefnum.³ MS. ungemetlicre.⁴ MS. unmetlicre.⁵ MS. orwehtan.

torted toes, and shrieked hoarsely with their voices ; and they came with such immoderate noises and immense horror, that it seemed to him that all between heaven and earth resounded with their dreadful cries. Without delay, when they were come into the house, they soon bound the holy man in all his limbs, and they pulled and led him out of the cottage, and brought him to the black fen, and threw and sunk him in the muddy waters. After that they brought him to the wild places of the wilderness, among the dense thickets of brambles, that all his body was torn. After they had a long time thus tormented him in darkness, they let him abide and stand a while ; then commanded him to depart from the wilderness, or if he would not do so, then they would torment and try him with greater plagues. He, the blessed man Guthlac, cared not for their words, but with prophetic mouth he thus spake : The Lord is on my right hand, that I be not turned back from thee. After that the cursed spirits took him and beat him with iron whips, and after that they brought him on their creaking wings amidst the cold regions of the air. When he was at this height in the air he saw all the north part of heaven as it were surrounded by the blackest clouds of intense darkness. Then he saw suddenly

unmæte¹ werod þæra awerigedra gasta him ongean cuman; and hi þa sona þær tosomne gegaderodon, and hi þa sona ealle þone halgan wer gelæddon to þam sweartum tintreh-stowum, helle dura² hi hine gebrohton. Ða he þa þær geseah þa fulnysse þæs smyces and þa byrnendan³ lega and þone ege þære sweartan deopnysse, he þa sona wæs forgitende ealra þara tintrega and þæra wita þe he fram þam awyrgedum gastum ær dreah and ápolode. Hi þa sona þa awyrgedan gastas betwux þa grimlican lega⁴ inhruron and feollon, and þær þara árleasra manna sawla mid manigfealdum wítum getintregodon. Ða se eadiga Guthlac þa micelnysse geseah þara wita,⁵ þa wæs he for þæra egsan swyðe afyrht. Ða cleopodon sona þa awyrgedan gastas mid mycelre cleopunge and þus cwædon: Us ys miht geseald þe to sceofanne on þas wítu þisse deopnysse, and her [is]⁶ þæt fyr þæt þu sylfa on þe onbærndest; and for þinum synnum and gyltum helle duru þe ongean openað. Mid þy þa awyrgedan gastas þisum wordum béotodon, ða andswerode he heom þus, and cwæð: Wá eow þeostra bearn and forwyrde tudder,⁷ ge syndon dust and acsan and ysela: hwa sealde eow earman þæt ge mín ahton geweald on þas wítu to sendanne? hwæt ic her eom andweard and gearu, and bidige nimes Drihtnes willan; for hwon sceolon ge mid eowrum leasum beotingum me egsian? Hig

¹ MS. unmæta. ² MS. duru. ³ MS. byrnenda. ⁴ MS. lege.

⁵ MS. wítu.

⁶ [is] not in MS.

⁷ MS. tudre.

an immense host of cursed spirits come towards him ; and they soon gathered together, and forthwith all led the holy man to the black places of torment, and brought him to hell's door. When he saw the foulness of the smoke and the burning flames, and the horror of the black abyss, he quickly forgot all the torments and the punishments which he had before suffered and endured from the accursed spirits. Then the cursed spirits rushed in and tumbled among the horrible flames, and there they tormented with manifold punishments the souls of unrighteous men. When the blessed Guthlac saw the greatness of the punishments, he was much terrified for dread of them. Then cried the cursed spirits with a great voice and thus spake : Power is given us to thrust thee into the torments of this abyss ; and here is the fire which thou thyself didst kindle within thee, and for thy sins and crimes hell's door openeth before thee. When the accursed spirits had threatened him with these words, then answered he them thus, and said : Woe to you ! children of darkness, and seed of destruction ; ye are dust and cinders and ashes ; who granted you, wretches, that ye should have power over me, to send me to these punishments ! Lo ! I am here present and ready, and await my Lord's will ; wherefore should ye frighten me with your false threats ? They then, the accursed

þa sona þa awyrgedan gastas¹ to þam eadigan woldon swylce hi hine þær insceofan woldon. Ða semninga com se heofones bigengca se halga apostol Scs Bartholomeus, mid heofonlicre byrhtnysse and wuldre scinende, betwuhx þa dimnysse þeostru þære sweartan helle. Hi þa awyrgedan gastas ne mihton for þære fægernysse þæs halgan cuman þær awunian, ac hi sylfe on þeostre gehyddon. Ða se eadiga wer Guthlac his þone getreowan freond geseah, þa wæs he mid gastlicre blisse and mid heofonlice² gefean swiðe blipe. Ða æfter þam het se halga apostol Scs Bartholomeus and heom bebed þæt hi him wæron underþeodde, þæt hi hine eft gebrohton mid smyltnysse on þære ylcan stowe þe hi hine ær æt-genamon: and hig þa swá dydon, and hine mid ealre smyltnysse swá gelæddon, and on heora fiðerum bæron and feredon, þæt he ne mihte ne on scipe fægeror gefered beon. Mid þy hi þa comon on middan þære lyfte heannysse, ða comon him togeanes haligra gasta heap, and hi ealle sungon and þus cwædon: Ibunt de virtute in virtutem, et reliqua. Ðæt ys on englisc: Halige men gangeð of mægene on mægen. Ða hit þa on mergen dagian wolde þa asetton hi hine eft þær hi hine ær genamon.³ Ða he þa his morgen-gebed-tíða wolde Gode gefyllan, þa geseah he þær standan twegen þara awerigdra gasta wepan⁴ swyþe and geomerian. Mid þy he hi ahsode for hwan hi weopon, þa andswarodon hi him

¹ MS. gastes. ² MS. heofonlicre. ³ MS. genaman. ⁴ MS. weopon.

spirits, motioned towards the blessed man as though they would push him in. There suddenly came the inhabitant of heaven, the holy apostle St. Bartholomew, shining with heavenly brightness and glory, amidst the dim darkness of the black hell. The accursed spirits were not able to abide there for the splendour of the holy visitor, but they hid themselves in the darkness. When the blessed man Guthlac saw his faithful friend he was greatly rejoiced with spiritual gladness and heavenly joy. After this the holy apostle St. Bartholomew bade and commanded them that they should be subject to him, and that they should bring him again with gentleness to the same place which they had before taken him from. And they did so, and brought him with all gentleness and care, and carried him on their wings, that he could not have been carried more pleasantly in a boat. When they came in the midst of the height of the air, there came towards him a troop of holy spirits, and they all sung and spake thus : *Ibunt de virtute in virtutem, et reliqua.* That is in English : Holy men shall go from virtue to virtue. When it began to dawn in the morning they set him again in the place whence they had taken him. When he then was about to perform his morning prayers to God, he saw two of the cursed spirits standing there weeping and wailing greatly. When he asked them why they wept, they answered

and þus cwædon : Wit wepað forþon þe uncer mægn eall þurh þe ys gebrocen, and we þe nu ne moton to cuman, ne to þe nane spræce habban ; ac on eallum þingum þu unc hæfst gebysmrod, and ure miht eall oferswyþed. Ða æfter þam wordum hi gewiton ða awyrgedan gastas¹ efne swá smic fram his ansyne.

VI.

Hu þa deofla on brytisc spræcon.

Ðæt gelamp on þam dagum Cenredes Mercna kyninges, þæt Brytta-þeod Angol-cynnes feond þæt hi mid manigum gewinnum and mid missenlicum gefeohtum þæt hi Angol-cynne geswencton. Ða gelamp hit sumre nihte þa hit wæs hancred, and se eadiga wer Guðlac his uht-gebedum befeal, þa wæs he sæmninga mid leohte slæpe swefed. Þa onbræd he Guðlac of þam slæpe, and eode þa sona út and hawode and hercnode ; þa gehyrde he mycel werod þara awyrgedra gasta on bryttisc sprecende ; and he oncneow and ongeat heora gereorda for þam he ær hwilon mid him wæs on wráce. Ða sona æfter þon he geseah eall his hus mid fyre afylled, and hi hine æfter þon ealne mid spera ordum afyldon, and hi hine on þam sperum up on þa lyft áhengon. Þa ongeat sona se stranga Cristes cempa þæt þæt wæron þa egsan and þa witu þæs awyrgedan gastes ; he þa sona unforhtlice þa stræle þara awerigdra gasta him

¹ MS. gastes.

him, and spake thus: We two weep because our power is all broken through thee, and we now may not come at thee, nor have any speech with thee; but in all things thou hast injured us, and altogether overcome our might. After those words the accursed spirits departed, even as smoke, from his face.

VI.

How the devils spake in British.

It happened in the days of Cenred, king of the Mercians, that the British nation, the enemy of the Angle race, with many battles and various contests annoyed the English. It happened one night, when it was the time of cock-crowing, and the blessed man Guthlac fell to his morning prayers, he was suddenly entranced in light slumber. Then Guthlac woke from his sleep, and went immediately out and looked and hearkened; there he heard a great host of the accursed spirits speaking in British; and he knew and understood their words, because he had been erewhile in exile among them. Soon after that he saw all his house filled with fire, and they next struck him quite down with the points of spears, and hung him up in the air on the spears. Then understood the strong warrior of Christ that these were the terrors and the torments of the cursed spirits; he then soon fearlessly thrust from

fram asceaf, and þone sealm sang : Exurgat deus et dissipentur, et reliqua. Sona swá he þæt fyrmeste fers sang þæs sealmes, þa gewiton hi swa swa smíc fram his ansyne. Mid þy se eadiga wer Guðlac swa gelomlice wið þam awerigedum gastum wann and campode, þa ongeaton hi þæt heora mægn and weorc oferswyþed wæs.

VII.

Be Beccelle þam preoste.

Wæs sum preost þæs nama wæs Beccel ; þa com he to þam halgan were, and hine bæd þæt he hine to him genáme, and þæt gehet þæt he eadmodlice wolde on Godes þeowdome be his lárum lyfian. He þa se awyrgeða gast þæs ylcan preostes heortan and geþanc mid his searwes attre geond sprengde¹ and mengde ; lærde hine se awyrgeða gast þæt he Guðlac ofsloge and acwealde, and þus on his heortan gesende : Gif ic hine ofslea and acwelle, þonne mæg ic eft ágan þa ylcan stowe æfter him ; and me þonne woruld-men arwurðiað swa swa hi hine nu doð. Ða gelamp hit sume dæge þæt se ylca preost com to þam eadigan were þæt he hine wolde scyran, swá his gewuna wæs ymbe twentig nihta, þæt he hine wolde þwean, þa wæs he swyðe oflysted þæt he þæs eadigan weres blod agute. He þa sona Guðlac geseah þa lare þæs awyrgeðan gastes, (swa him ealle þa toweardan þing þurh Godes gifu wæron gecyðde,

¹ MS. spregde.

him the weapon of the accursed spirits, and sang the psalm : *Exurgat Deus et dissipentur, et reliqua*. As soon as he had sung the first verse of the psalm, they departed like smoke from his presence. When the blessed man Guthlac thus frequently fought and contended against the cursed spirits, they perceived that their power and work was overcome.

VII.

Concerning Beccel the priest.

There was a priest whose name was Beccel ; he came to the holy man and begged him that he would take him to him, and he promised that he would humbly live in God's service by his instructions. Then the accursed spirit sprinkled and watered over with the poison of his deceit the heart and mind of this same priest ; the cursed spirit advised him that he should smite and kill Guthlac ; and thus suggested to his heart : If I slay and kill him, then may I afterwards possess this same place after him ; and men of the world will then honour me as they now do him. It happened one day that the same priest came to the holy man to shave him (as his custom was every twenty days to wash himself) ; then was he vehemently tempted to shed the blood of the blessed man. Guthlac soon perceived the persuasion of the cursed spirit (as all future things were through

and eac swylce þa andweardan, and he mihte þone man innan geseon and geondsceawian swá útan,) and he cwæð þus to him : Eala þu min Beccel to hwan hafast þu bedigled under þam dysigan breoste þone awyrgedan feond ? for hwon nelt þu þæs biteran attres þa deap-berendan wæter of þe aspiwan ? ic þæt geseo þæt þu eart fram þam awyrgedan gaste beswicen, and þa mánfullan smeauge þinre heortan ; manna-kynnes costere and middaneardes feond hafað acenned on þe þa unablinnu þæs yfelan gepohtes ; ac ahwyrf þe fram þære yfelan láre þæs awyrgedan gastes. Ða ongeat he sona þæt he wæs fram þan awyrgedan gaste beswícen ; feol sona to þæs halgan weres fotum, and þa sona mid tearum him his synne andette. He þa sona se halga wer Guðlac, na læs þæt án þæt he him þa synne forgeaf, ac eac swylce he him gehet þæt he him wolde beon on fultume on eallum his earfeþum.

VIII.

Hu þa deofla ferdon.

Ðæt gelamp sumere nihte þa se halga wer Guðlac his gebedum befeal, þa gehyrde he grymetunga¹ hrypera and mislicra wildeora. Næs þa nan hwil to þam þæt he geseah ealra wihta and wildeora and wurma hiw in cuman to him. Ærest he geseah leon ansyne, and he mid his

¹ MS. grymetigenda.

God's grace known to him, and also present things, and he could see and look through the man within as well as without) ; and he said thus to him : Oh ! my Beccel, wherefore hast thou concealed under thy foolish breast the accursed fiend ? why wilt thou not spit out from thee the death-bearing waters of that bitter poison ? I perceive that thou art deceived by the accursed spirit, and I see the wicked device of thy heart. The tempter of mankind and the enemy of earth hath begotten in thee the unrest of this evil intent ; but turn thyself away from the evil teaching of the accursed spirit. Then perceived he that he had been deceived by the accursed spirit, fell at the holy man's feet, and with tears confessed to him his sin. Thereupon the holy man Guthlac not only forgave him the sin, but also promised him that he would be his helper in all his trials.

VIII.

How the devils departed.

It happened one night, when the holy man Guthlac fell to his prayers, he heard the howlings of cattle and various wild beasts. Not long after he saw the appearances of animals and wild beasts and creeping things coming in to him. First he saw the visage of a lion, that threatened him with his bloody tusks ;

blódigum tuxum to him beotode; swylce eac fearres gelicnyssse, and beran ansyne, þonne hi gebolgene beoð. Swylce eac næddrena híw, and swynes grymetunge, and wulfa geþeot, and hræfena cræcetunge,¹ and mislice fugela hwistlunge; þæt hi woldon mid heora hiwunge þæs halgan weres mod awendan. He þa se halga wer Guþlac hine gewápnode mid þan wæpne þære Cristes róde, and mid þam scylde þæs halgan geleafan, and forseah þa costunge þara awyrgedra gasta, and þus cwæð: Eala þu earma wiðerwearda gast, þin mægn ys gesyne, and þin miht ys gecyþed: þu nu earma, wildeora and fugela and wyrma hiw ætywest,² þu iu þe ahofe þæt þu woldest beon gelic þam ecan Gode. Nu þonne ic bebeode þe on þam naman þæs ecan Godes, se þe worhte and þe of heofones heannysse awearp, þæt þu fram þisse³ ungeþwærnyssse gestille. Þa sona æfter þon ealle þa ætywnysse þara awerigdra gasta onweg gewáton.⁴

IX.

Hu þæt gewrit begæn wæs.

Ðæt gelamp on sumere nihte, þæt þær com sum man to þæs halgan weres spræce. Mid þy he þær dagas wunode, þa gelamp hit þæt he sum gewrit awrat on cartan. Þa he þa hæfde þæt gewrit

¹ MS. cræcetung.² MS. ætywes.³ MS. þisum.⁴ MS. gewát.

also the likeness of a bull, and the visage of a bear, as when they are enraged. Also he perceived the appearance of vipers, and a hog's grunting, and the howling of wolves, and croaking of ravens, and the various whistling of birds; that they might, with their fantastic appearance, divert the mind of the holy man. Then the holy man Guthlac armed himself with the weapon of Christ's cross, and with the shield of holy faith, and despised the temptation of the accursed spirits, and spake thus: O! thou wretched rebellious spirit, thy power is seen and thy might is made known: thou, wretched one, now displayest the forms of wild beasts and birds and creeping things, thou who once exaltedst thyself that thou mightest be equal to the eternal God. Now then I command thee, in the name of the eternal God, who made thee, and cast thee down from the height of heaven, that thou cease from this troubling. Immediately thereafter all the appearances of the accursed spirits went away.

IX.

How the writing was recovered.

It happened one night that there came one to speak with the holy man. When he had remained some days there, it fell out that he wrote some writing on a sheet of paper. When he had written

awriten, þa eode he ut. Ða com þær sum hrefen inn; sona swá he þa cartan geseah þa genam he hig sona and gewat mid on þæne fenn. Sona swa se foresæda cuma ongearn com, þa geseah he þone hrefen þa cartan beran: þa wæs he sona swyðe unblife. Ða wæs on þam ylcan timan þæt se halga wer Guthlac ut of his cyrcan eode; þa geseah he þone broþor sarig. Þa frefrode he hine and him to cwæð: Ne beo þu broþor sarig; ac swa se hrefen þurh þa fennas upp afligeð, swá þu him æfter row; þonne metest þu þæt gewrit. Næs þa nænig hwil to þan þæt he to scipe eode se ylca þe þæt gewrit wrat. Mid þy he þurh þa fenland reow, þa com he to sumum mere þe wel neah þæt egland wæs: þa wæs þær on middan þam mere sum hreod-bed; þa hangode seo carte on þam hreode efne swa hig mannes hand þær ahengce: and he sona þa blipe feng to þære cārtan, and he wundriende to þam Godes were brohte: and he þa se eadiga wer Guthlac sæde þæt þæt nære his gecearnung ac Godes mildheortnys.¹ Wæron on þam ylcan yglande twegen hrefnas gewunode, to þæs gifre, þæt swa hwæt swa hi mihton gegripan þæt hi þæt woldon onweg alædan; and he þeah hwæþere heora gifernysse ealle æbær and gepolode, þæt he eft sealde mannum bysene his geþyldes; and na læs þæt an þæt him þa fugelas underþeodde wæron, ac eac swa þa fixas, and wilde deor þæs westenes ealle hi him hyrdon, and

¹ MS. mildheortnysse.

the writing he went out. There came a raven in; as soon as he saw the paper he took it and went with it to the fen. As soon as the aforesaid guest came back again, he saw the raven carrying the paper; thereat was he very vexed. It happened at that time that the holy man Guthlac came out of his church; there saw he the brother grieving. He consoled him, and said: Be not grieved, brother; but when the raven flies up through the fens row thou after him; so shalt thou recover the writing. Not long after he went into a boat, the same man namely who had written the writing. Having rowed through the fenlands, he came to a mere, which was very near the island; there was in the midst of the mere a bed of reeds; there hung the paper on the reeds, even as though man's hand had hanged it there; and he forthwith joyfully seized the paper, and brought it wondering to the man of God. And the blessed man Guthlac said that it was not the effect of his merit, but of God's mercy. There were settled on the same island two ravens, so greedy that whatsoever they could seize they would carry away; and notwithstanding he bore and endured all their greediness, that he might give men the example of his patience. And not only were the birds subject to him, but also the fishes and wild beasts of the wilderness all obeyed him, and he daily

he hym dæghwamlice andlyfene sealde of his agenre¹ handa, swa heora gecynde wæs.

X.

Hu þa swalawan on him sæton and sungon.

Þæt gelamp sume siþe þæt þær com sum arwurpe broðor to him, þæs nama wæs Wilfrið, se him wæs geara on gastlicum² þoftscipe geþeoded. Mid þan þe hig þa on manegum gespræcum heora gastlic lif smeaddon, þa comon þær sæmninga in twa swalewan fleogan, and hi efne blissiende heora sang úpahofon, and þa æfter þon hi setton unforhtlice on þa sculdra þæs halgan weres Guðlaces, and hi þær heora sang upahofon; and hi eft setton on his breost and on his earmas and on his cneowu. Ða hi þa Wilfrið lange þa fugelas wundriende beheold, þa frægn hine Wilfriþ forhwon þa wildan fugelas þæs widgillan westenes swa eadmodlice him on sæton. He þa se halga wer Guðlac him andswarode and him to cwæð: Ne leornodest þu broðor Wilfrið on halgum gewritum, þæt se þe on Godes willan his lif leofode, þæt hine wilde deor and wilde fugelas þe near wæron; and se man þe hine wolde fram woruld-mannum his lif fribban, þæt hine englas þe néar comon: forþon se þe woruldlicra manna spræce gelomlice wilnað, þonne ne mæg he þa engellican spræce befeolan.

¹ MS. agenra.

² MS. gastlicre.

gave them food from his own hand, as suited their kind.

X.

How the swallows sat upon him and sung.

It happened on a time that there came a venerable brother to him whose name was Wilfrith, who had of old been united with him in spiritual fellowship. Whilst they discussed in many discourses their spiritual life, there came suddenly two swallows flying in, and behold they raised up their song rejoicing; and after that they sat fearlessly on the shoulders of the holy man Guthlac, and then lifted up their song; and afterwards they sat on his bosom and on his arms and his knees. When Wilfrith had long wondering beheld the birds, he asked him wherefore the wild birds of the wide waste so submissively sat upon him. The holy man Guthlac answered him and said: Hast thou never learnt, brother Wilfrith, in holy writ, that he who hath led his life after God's will, the wild beasts and wild birds have become the more intimate with him. And the man who would pass his life apart from worldly men, to him the angels approach nearer. But he who frequently longeth for the converse of worldly men cannot meet with angelic discourse.

XI.

Ymb þa glofan þe þa hrefnas bæron.

Swylce eac gelamp sume siþe witedomlic¹ wundor be þisum halgan were. Wæs sum fore-mæra man æþelan kyne-kynnes on Myrcna-ríce, þæs nama wæs Æþelbald. Þa wolde he to þæs halgan weres spræce cuman : beget þa æt Wilfriðe þæt he hine to þam Godes were gelædde ; and hi þa sona on scipe eodon, and ferdon to þam yglande þær se halga wer Guthlac on wæs. Ða hi þa to þam halgan were comon, þa hæfde Wilfrið forlæten his glofan on þam scipe : and hi þa wið þone halgan wer spræcon, he þa se eadiga wer Guthlac acsode hi hwæðer hi ænig þingc² æfter heom on þam scipe forleton, (swa him God ealle þa diglan þingc cuð gedyde) : þa andswarode him Wilfrið and cwæð þæt he forlete his twa glofan on þam scipe. Næs þa nænig hwil to þan sona swa hi ut of þam inne³ eodon, þa gesegon hi þone hræfn mid þan sweartan nebbe þa glofe teran uppe on anes huses þæce. He þa sona se halga wer Guthlac þone hræfn mid his worde þreade for his reþnysse, and he þa his worde⁴ hyrsumode, swa fleah se fugel west ofer þæt westen ; he þa Wilfrið mid gyrde of þæs⁵ huses hrofe þa glofe geræhte. Swylce næs eac nænig hwil to þam sona comon þær þry men to þære hyðe, and þær tacn slogon. Þa sona

¹ MS. witedomlice.

² MS. þinc.

³ MS. in.

⁴ MS. worda.

⁵ MS. þam.

XI.

Concerning the gloves which the ravens carried off.

Also there happened on a time a prophetic miracle to this holy man. There was a distinguished man of noble king's-kindred in Mercia, whose name was Athelbald. He wished to come to converse with the holy man. He prevailed upon Wilfrith that he should bring him to the man of God; and they went into a boat, and journeyed to the island whereon the holy man Guthlac was. When they had come to the holy man, behold Wilfrith had left his glove in the boat. And while they conversed with the holy man, he, the blessed man Guthlac, asked them whether they had left anything behind them in the boat (for God made known to him all secret things); then answered Wilfrith, and said that he had left his two gloves in the boat. Not long after, as soon as they had gone out of the house, there they saw the raven with his black beak tearing the glove upon the roof of a house. Then the holy man Guthlac rebuked with his word the raven for his mischief, and it obeyed his word, and the bird flew westward over the wilderness; whereupon Wilfrith reached the glove from the roof of the house with a stick. Also not long after there came three men to the landing-place, and there sounded the signal.

eode se halga wer Guðlac út to þam mannum mid bliðum andwlite and góde mode; he þa spæc wið þam mannum. Mid þan þe hi faran woldon, þa brohton hi forð ane glofe, sædon þæt heo of anes hrefnes muþe feolle. He se halga wer Guþlac sona to-smerciende feng, and heom his bletsunge sealde, and hi eft ferdon; and he eft ageaf þa glofe þam þe hi ær ahte.

XII.

Hu Hwætred his hælo¹ onfeng.

Wæs on East-Engla-lande sum man æpeles cynnes þæs nama wæs Hwætred. Mid þy he þa dæghwamlice mid arfæstnysse his ealderum underpeoded wæs, hit gelamp sume siðe þa he æt his fæder hame wæs, þæt hine se awyrgeða gast him oneode þæt he of his gewitte wearð, and hine se awyrgeða feond swa swyþe swencte mid þære wodnysse þæt he hys agenne lichaman² mid irene ge eac mid his tóþum blodgode and wundode; and na læs þæt an þæt he hine sylfne swa mid þam wælhreowum tóþum wundode ac eac swa hwylcne swá he mihte þæt he swá gelíce tær. Ða gelamp sume siþe þæt þær wæs mycel menigo manna gegaderod his maga and eac oþra his neh-freonda, þæt hi hine woldon gebindan and don hine gewyldne: he þa genam sum twibil, and mid þan þry men to deaðe ofsloh, and oþre

¹ MS. hæla.

² MS. agene lichama.

Then went the holy man Guthlac out to the men with cheerful countenance and good humour, and there spoke with them. When they wished to depart they brought forth a glove, and said that it had fallen from a raven's mouth. The holy man Guthlac received it smiling, and gave them his blessing, and they then departed; and afterwards he gave the glove to him who before owned it.

XII.

How Hwætred received his health.

There was in the land of the East-Angles a man of noble kin, whose name was Hwætred. Whereas he was daily reverently subject to his elders, it happened on a time, while he was at his father's house, that the accursed spirit entered into him, so that he went out of his wits, and the accursed spirit afflicted him so severely with this madness, that he bloodied and wounded his own body as well with iron as with his teeth; and not himself only did he wound with his ferocious teeth, but also whomsoever he could he in like manner tore. It happened on a time that there was a great multitude of men gathered together of his kinsmen, and also of other his near friends, that they might bind him and bring him into subjection. Thereupon he took an axe, and with it smote three men to death, and wounded

manige mid gesarode. þæs þa feowor gear þæt he swá wæs mid þære wodnysse swiðe geswenced. þa wæs he æt nextan genumen fram his magum, and to halgum mynstre gelæd, to þon þæt hine mæsse-preostas and bisceopas wið þa wodnysse þwean and clænsian sceoldon. And hi hwæþere on menigum þingum ne mihton þa yfelan mægn þæs awyrgdan gastes ofadrifan. Ða æt nextan hi eft ham únrote mid þam mæge ferdon, and hi him deapes swyðor upon þonne he lengc þa men drehte, ða wæs æt nextan gemærsod se hlisa on þone¹ þeodscipe þæt on þam fenne-middum on anum eglande þe Cruwland hatte wære sum ancra þe² missenlicum mægnum for Gode weohse. Hi þa sona, þa hi þær þone halgan wer acsodon, þohton þæt hi woldon þær þone man gebringan, gif þæt Godes stihtung wære þæt hi þær áre findan mihton. And hi hit swa gefremedon, ferdon þyder þæt hi comon to sumum yglande þe wel neah wæs þam eglande þe se Godes man on wæs; and þær wæron on niht mid þan seocan men. þa hit þa on mergen dæg wæs, þa comon hi to þam³ foresprecenan eglande, and þa mid þan gewunelican þeawe tacen slogon. He þa sona se halga wer Guðlac to heom eode mid healice mægne Godes lufan: þa hi þa heora intingan him wepende sædon, þa wæs he sona mid mildheortnysse gefylled. Genam þa sona þone untruman man and hine lædde into his cyrican, and þær þry dagas

¹ MS. þ.² MS. þ.³ MS. þære.

many others with them. It was four years that he was sorely afflicted with this madness. Then was he at last taken by his relations and brought to the holy monastery, to the end that mass-priests and bishops might wash and cleanse him from his madness. And they, however, with many expedients, could not drive out the evil powers of the accursed spirit. When at last they went home sorrowful with their relative, and they rather wished him dead than that he should longer annoy men, then at length the report was spread in the province that in the midst of the fen, on an island which was called Crowland, was an anchorite, who flourished before God with various virtues. Then they forthwith, when they heard of the holy man, thought that they would take the man thither, if it were God's providence that they might there find help. And they performed this, journeyed thither till they came to an island, which was very near that on which the man of God was, and they were there during the night with the sick man. When it was day on the morrow, they came to the aforesaid island; then in the usual manner sounded a signal. Then forthwith the holy man Guthlac went to them in the fervent power of God's love. When they weeping had told him their affair, he was filled with pity. He took the sick man and led him into his church, and there remained three

singallice on his gebedum áwunode. þa on þam þridðan dæge þa sunne upeode, þa bapode he hine on gehalgedum wætre, and bleow on his ansyne and mid þan eall þæt mægn þæs awyrgedan gastes on him gebræc: and he þa se ylca man swa he of hefegum slæpe raxende awoce, and he eft to his hælo feng, and ham ferde; and him næfre syþþan þa hwile þe he leofode seo adl¹ ne eglode.

XIII.

Be Apelbaldes gefere.

Swilce eac gelamp on sumne sæl þæt þæs foresprecenan wræccan Apelbaldes gefere þæs nama wæs Ecga þæt he wæs fram þam awyrgedan gaste unstill; and swá swyþe he hine drehte þæt he his sylfes nænig gemynd ne hæfde. Hi þa his magas hine to þam Godes men gelæddon. Ða sona þæs þe he to him com, þa begyrde he hine mid his gyrðele. Næs þa nænig hwil to þan sona swa he wæs mid þam gyrdele begyrd, eal seo unclænnys² fram him gewát, and him syþþan næfre seo adl³ ne eglode. Eac se⁴ eadiga wer Guðlac witedomlice gaste weox and fremede, and he þa toweardan mannum cydde swa cuðlice swa þa andweardan.

¹ MS. adle.

² MS. unclænnysse.

³ MS. adle.

⁴ MS. þone.

days incessantly at his prayers. When the sun rose on the third day, he bathed him in holy water and blew in his face, and with that all the power of the accursed spirit upon him was shattered : and this same man was as though he had awoke from a deep slumber, and he received his health again, and went home ; and the illness never ailed him afterwards so long as he lived.

XIII.

Concerning Athelbald's follower.

Also it happened on a time that a follower of the aforesaid exile Athelbald, whose name was Ecga, was disquieted by the accursed spirit. And he plagued him so severely that he had no recollection of himself. Then his relations brought him to the man of God. As soon as he came to him he girded him with his girdle. No sooner was he girded with the girdle than all the uncleanness departed from him, and the illness never after ailed him. Also the blessed man Guthlac flourished and prospered in the prophetic spirit, and he made known future things to men, as clearly as the present things.

XIV.

Be þam abbode.

Þæt gelamp sume siþe þæt þær com sum abbod to him þe him wæsgeara on gastlicum¹ þoftscipe geþeoded. Þa he þa þyder ferde þa wæron his hand-þegnas twegen, bædon hyne þurh leofe-bene þæt hi moston on oðerne weg faran, and sædon þæt him þæs neod wære and eac þearf. Þa geuþe him þæs se abbod þæs þe hi hine bædon. Ða he þa se abbod þær com to þære spræce þæs eadigan weres Guðlaces, mid þan hi þa sylfe betweonum drencton² of þam willan haligra gewrita, þa betwyx þa halgan gewritu þe hi spræcon ða cwæð Guðlac to him: Ac hwyder gewiton þa twegen þe ær fram þe cyrdon? Þa andswarode he him and cwæð: Hi bædon læfe³ æt me: wæs heom oþer intinga⁴ þæt hi hider cuman ne mihton. He þa Guðlac him andswarode (swa him God ealle þa toweardan þing onwreah, þæt him wæron swa cuðe swa þa andweardan), ongan him þa secgan þone sið þara broþra and him cwæð to: Hi ferdon þær to sumre wydewan ham and þær wæron ondrencte mid oferdrynce. And na læs þæt an þæt he him þone heora siþ sæde, ac eac swilce be heora andleofone, ge eac swilce þa sylfan word þe hi þær spræcon, eall he be endebyrdnysse him gerehte. Mid þan þe se abbod his bletsunge hæfde onfangen, he þa eft ferde. Mid þy þe þa foresprecenan broþra

¹ MS. gastlicre.

² MS. dremdon.

³ MS. læfa.

⁴ MS. intingan.

XIV.

Concerning the abbot.

It happened on a time that there came an abbot to him, who was formerly united with him in spiritual communion. While he journeyed thither his two attendants were with him; they supplicated him with a request for leave that they might go another way, and said that there was need and necessity for them to do this. Then the abbot granted them that which they begged of him. When the abbot came there to conversation with the blessed man Guthlac, whilst they mutually gave each other to drink from the well of the sacred scriptures, then amidst their talk of the sacred scriptures Guthlac said to him: But whither went the two that erewhile turned back from thee? Then answered he him, and said: They begged leave of me; they had another affair, so that they could not come hither. Then Guthlac answered him, (as God revealed to him all future things, which were as well known to him as the present,) and began to tell him the way of these brothers, and said to him: They went to the house of a widow, and were there intoxicated with too much drinking. And not only did he tell him of their road, but also concerning their fare, as also the very words which they there spake; he related it all to him in order. When the abbot had received his blessing he departed. When the afore-

eft to þam abbode comon, þa fregn he hi hwær hi wæron. þa andswarodon hi him and cwædon þæt hi wæron on heora nyd-þearfum swyðe geswencte. þa axode he hi hwæþer hit swá wære; þa swóron hi swiðe þæt hit swa wære. þa cwæð he to him: Ac to hwon sweriað git mán; ac wæron æt þisse wydewan hame and þær þus yncer lif leofodon and þisum wordum þus þær spræcon? þa ongeaton hi heora misdæda, feollon þa to his fotum and him forgifenyssæ bædon, and him andetton þæt hit wære swa he ær sæde.

XV.

Be þam broþrum þe him to comon.

Comon eac swylce twegen broðra to him on sumne sæl of sumum mynstre. þa hi þa þyderweard ferdon, þa hæfdon hi mid heom twa flaxan mid ælað gefylde; þa gewearð him betweonan þæt hi þa gehyddon under anre tyrf, þæt hi, þonne hi ham ferdon, hæfdon eft mid him. Ða hi þa to him comon, þa trymede he hi mid his lāre and mid his manunge heora heortan intimbrede. Mid þan þe hi manig þing heom betweonum spræcon, ða se eadiga wer Guðlac mid bliþum andwlitan and hlihhendre¹ gespræce he cwæþ to heom: For hwon behydde git þa flaxan under ane tyrf, and for hwon ne læddon ge hi mid inc? Hi þa swyðe wundrodon

¹ MS. hlihhende.

said brothers again came to the abbot, he asked them where they had been. They answered him, and said that they had toiled much in their needful affairs. Then he asked them whether it were so. Then they swore stoutly that it was so. Then said he to them : Nay, but wherefore swear ye to a wicked lie ; for ye were at the house of such a widow, and there passed your time in such wise, and spake there such words ! Then they were conscious of their misdeeds, fell at his feet, and begged forgiveness of him, and confessed that it was as he said.

XV.

Concerning the brothers who came to him.

Then came also to him two brothers on a time from a certain monastery. Whilst they journeyed thitherward they had with them two bottles filled with ale ; then it was agreed between them that they should hide them under a turf, that, when they went home, they might have them with them. When they were come to him, he strengthened them with his counsel, and edified their hearts with his admonition. When they had spoken on many subjects amongst them, the blessed man Guthlac, with merry countenance and laughing words, said to them : Wherefore hid ye the bottles under a turf, and why brought ye them not with you ?

þara worda þæs halgan weres, and to him lutan and hine bletsunge bædon. And he hi gebletsode, and hi þa eft ham ferdon. Wæs on þa sylfan tid þæt þone foresprecenan wer missenlices hades men sohton, ægðer þara ge ealdormen ge bisceopas, and abbodas, and ælces hades heane and rice. And na læs þæt an þæt hine men sohton of þære heh-þeode Mercna-rice, ac eac swylce ealle þa þe on Bretone wæron þe þisne eadigan wer hyrdon, þæt hi æghwonon to him efston and scyndon; and þa þe wæron aþer oþþe on lichaman untrumnyse, oððe fram þam awyrgdan gaste geswencte and numene, oþþe oprum yfelum, þe manna-cynn¹ mid missenlicum sorgum and sarum útan ymbseald ys; and on heora nænigum² se hiht awácode þe hi to him genamon; forþan næs nænig untrum þæt he ungelacnod fram him ferde; nænig deofol-seoc þæt he eft wel gewitfæst ne wære; ne on nænigre untrumnyse þæt he eft gehæled him fram ne ferde.

XVI.

Be Aþelbaldes gefere.

Ðæt gelamp mid þan þæt manige men for missenlicum þingum him to comon, þa betweox opre com þær þæs foresprecenan wræccan Aþelbaldes gefera þæs nama wæs Ova, þæt he wolde þone halgan geneosian and wiþgesprecan. Ða gelamp hit þan

¹ MS. manna-cynnes.

² MS. menigum.

They were greatly amazed at these words of the holy man, and bowed to him, and begged his blessing. And he blessed them, and they returned home. It came to pass at that same time, that men of divers conditions sought the holy man, as well nobles as bishops and abbots, and men of every condition, poor and rich. And not only men sought him from the province of Mercia, but also all who in Britain heard of this holy man, hied and hastened to him from all quarters: and those who were either in sickness of body, or plagued and possessed by the cursed spirit, or other evils, as mankind is compassed about with various griefs and pains: and of none of those whom they brought to him were the hopes thwarted; for there was no sick person that went from him unhealed; no possessed person that did not come to his right wits again; none afflicted with any disease that did not leave him cured.

XVI.

Concerning Athelbald's companion.

It came to pass when many men came to him for divers matters, among others came thither a companion of the before-mentioned exile Athelbald, whose name was Ova, that he might visit and converse with the saint. It happened on the second

æfteran dæge þæs þe he þyder on þære fóre wæs, þa eode he ofer sumne þórn on niht; þa besloh se þorn on þone fot, and swa strang wæs se sting þæs þornes þæt he eode þurh þone fot, and he þa uneaðe þone sið geferde, and þurh mycel gewinn he to þam foresprecenan eglande becom, þær se eadiga wer Guðlac on eardode. And mid þan þe he þær on niht wæs, þa asweoll him se lichama ofer healf fram þam lendum oþþa fet, and swa sarlice he wæs mid þam sare geswenced, þæt he naðer þara ne gesittan ne standan mihte. Mid þy man¹ þæt þam Godes were sæde Guðlace, þa bebed he þæt hine man to him gelædde. Þa he þa wæs broht to him, þa sæde he to him þone intingan þurh hwæt he ærest swa gepræst wære, and hu him ærest þæt earfoð on becóme. He þa sona Guðlac hine sylfne úngyrede, and þæt reaf þe he genehlice on him hæfde he hine slefde on þone foresprecenan man. Næs þa nænig hwil to þon sona swa he mid þan hrægle swa miccles weres gegyred wæs, þa ne mihte þæt þæt sar aberan. He þa sona se ylca þórn, efne swá swá stræl of bogan astelleþ, swa he of þam man afleah, and on þa fyrle gewát; and þa sona on þa sylfan tíð eall se swyle and eall þæt sár gewat fram him; and he sona to þa sylfan tíð mid bliþum mode to þam halgan were spræc and he eft þanon ferde butan sceðnyse æniges sáres. Swylce eac gelamp þæt ealle þa men wundrodon þe þas þing gehyrdon, and hi on þan wuldredon and heredon heofones God.

¹ MS. he.

day that he was on the journey thither, that he walked over a thorn in the night: the thorn stuck into his foot, and so strong was the prickle of the thorn that it went through the foot, and he with difficulty proceeded on his way, and with much effort he arrived at the fore-mentioned island, whereon the blessed man Guthlac dwelt. And when he was there at night, his body swelled, above half of it from the loins to the feet, and he was so grievously afflicted with the pain, that he could neither sit nor stand. As soon as they told this to Guthlac, the man of God, he ordered that he should be brought to him: when he was brought to him, he told him the cause through which he was first so tormented, and how that pain first came upon him. Thereupon Guthlac immediately stripped himself, and the garment which he wore next his skin he put upon the foresaid man. No sooner was he attired in the garment of so great a man, but the wound could not abide it: and lo! this same thorn, as an arrow speeds from the bow, so did it fly from the man, and go to a distance; and immediately at the same time all the swelling and all the wound departed from him, and he presently conversed with the holy man with blithe mood, and he afterwards went from thence without harm of any wound. And it came to pass that all men who heard these things wondered, and glorified and praised the God of heaven for them.

XVII.

Be þam halgan biscope Sce Hædde.

Swylce nys eac mid idele to forlætenne þæt wundor þæt þurh witedomes cræft [he]¹ wiste and cydde : forþon him wæs þurh Godes gife seald, þæt he þa word þara æfwearda swa geara wiste swa þara andwearda þe him foran gesæde wæron. Gelamp sume sipe þæt sum biscoep to him ferde þæs nama wæs Hædda, efne swa swa he wære mid heofonlicre þeahhte gelæred þæt he to þære spræce ferde þæs Godes mannes. Þa hæfde se biscoep mid hine on his geferscipe sumne man gelæredne, þæs nama wæs Wigfrið. Mid þan he þa betweox þa oðre þæs biscoopes þegnas þyder ferde,² þa ongunnon hi fela þinga be þam halgan were spreca and fela þinga be his wundrum sædon. Sume hi þonne sædon þa heardlicnyse his lifes, þa wundor þe he worhte; sume hi þonne twiendlice be his life spræcon, and þæt cwædon þæt hi nyston hwæðer he on Godes mihte þa þing worhte, þe þurh deofles cræft. Þa þa hi þas þing þus heom betweonon spræcon, þa cwæp se witega to heom : Ic mæg, cwæð he, cunnian and gewitan hwæper he biþ bigengca þære godcundan æfæstnyse; forþon ic wæs lange betwux Sceotta-folc eardiende; and ic geseah þær manige gode, and on Godes þeodscipe wel heora lif læddon; and hi manigum wundrum and tacnum þurh Godes mihte

¹ MS. cræft wiste and him cydde.

² MS. ferdon.

XVII.

Concerning the holy bishop St. Hædde.

Also we must not pass over with neglect that wondrous thing, how that with prophetic power he knew and made things known. For through God's grace it was given him, that he should know the words of the absent as easily as those of the present which were uttered before him. It happened on a time that a bishop came to him, whose name was Hædda, as though he were counselled by a heavenly thought, that he should go to speak with the man of God. The bishop had with him in his company a learned man, whose name was Wigfrith. Whilst he journeyed thither among the other attendants of the bishop, they began to say many things about the holy man, and spoke much of his miracles. Some of them then spake of the severity of his life, the miracles which he wrought; some then spake doubtingly of his life, and said that they knew not whether he wrought these things in the strength of God, or through craft of the devil. While they spake these things among themselves, the philosopher said to them: I am able, said he, to try and find out whether he be a cultivator of divine piety; for I was long dwelling among the Scotch people, and I saw there many good men, who led their life well in God's service; and they shone through God's power before the eyes of men, with many miracles

beforan manna eagam scinon. Of þara manna life þe ic þær geseah ic mæg ongitan hu gerád þises mannes lif ys, hwæþer he þurh Godes miht þa wundor wyrceð, þe he þurh deofles miht deð. Mid þy þa se¹ foresprecena bisceop to þære spræce becom þæs Godes² mannes Guðlaces, hi þa sylfe betweonum indrencton mid þam cerenum þære godspellican swetnysse. Wæs on þam eadigan were Guðlace seo beorhtnys þære Drihtnes gife swa swyþe scinende, þæt swa hwæt swa he bodode and lærde, swa he of engcellicre spræce þa word bodode and ræde. Wæs eac swiðe mycel wisdóm on him, heofonlice snyttro, þæt swa hwæt swa he gelærde þæt he þæt trymede mid þa godcundan [bysena]³ haligra gewrita. And he þa semninga se bisceop, on midre þære spræce þe hi heom betwux smeadon, eadmodlice to þam Godes were geleat and hine geornlice bæd and halsode þæt he þurh hine sacerdllice þenunge onfengce, þæt he hine moste gehádigan to mæsse-preoste and to þenunge Drihtnes weofodes. He þa sona Guðlac his benum⁴ gepafode, and he hine sylfne to eorðan astrehte, and þæt cwæð þæt he wolde þæs þe Godes willa wære and þæs biscopes. Þa hi þa hæfdon þa þenunge gefylled and he wæs gehalgod, swá ic ær sæde, he þa se biscop bæd þone halgan wer þæt he scolde to gereorde fón mid him : and he þa swa dyde þeah hit his life ungeþeawe wære. Þa hi þa to gereorde sæton, swa ic ær sæde, þa locode Guthlac

¹ MS. þe.² MS. gódes.³ [bysena] not in MS.⁴ MS. benun.

and signs : from the life of the men which I then saw, I am able to judge of what kind this man's life is, whether he works these wonders through God's power, or doeth them through the devil's might. When, therefore, the aforesaid bishop came to converse with Guthlac the man of God, they mutually refreshed each other with the nectar of evangelic sweetness. The brightness of the Lord's grace was so lustrous in the blessed man Guthlac, that whatsoever he preached and taught, it was as though he preached and spoke the words of angelic language. There was also so much wisdom in him, so much heavenly prudence, that whatsoever he taught he confirmed it with the divine [examples] of holy Scriptures. And suddenly the bishop, in the middle of the discourse which they held between them, bowed humbly to the man of God, and earnestly begged and besought him that he should through him receive the priestly office, that he might ordain him a mass-priest, and to the service of the Lord's altar. And Guthlac presently yielded to his prayers, and stretched himself on the earth, and said that he would do that which was God's will and the bishop's. When they had performed the service, and he was consecrated, as I said before, then the bishop besought the holy man that he would take meat with him ; and he did so, though it was at variance with his way of life. When they sat down to meat, as I before said, Guthlac looked at

to þam biscepes þegnum; þa geseah he þone forespreceanan broðor Wigfrið, cwæð þa þus to him: And nu broþor Wigfrið, ac hwylc þincð¹ þe nu þæt se preost sig, be þam þu gyrstan-dæge cwæde þæt þu woldest gecunnian hwæþer he wære gód opþe gál? He þa sona Wigfrið arás, and þa to eorþan leat and his synne him andette. He þa sona se halga wer him togeanes fengc, and him his miltse geaf and sealde. Wæs halgung þæs eglandes Cruwlande and eac þæs eadigan weres Guthlaces on hárfæstlice² tíde, fif dagum ær Sce Bartholomeus mæssan.

XVIII.

Be Ecgburhe abbodysan.³

Swylce eac gelamp sume siþe þæt seo arwyrðe fæmne Ecgburh abbodysse, Aldwulfes dohtor þæs cyninges, sende þam arwurðan were Guðlace leadene þruh and þær scytan to, and hine halsode þurh þone⁴ halgan naman þæs upplican kyninges þæt æfter his forðfore man his lichaman moste ingesettan. Heo gesende þa gretinge be sumum arwyrðes⁵ lifes breþer, and hine het þæt he him geaxian sceolde, hwa þære stówe hyrde æfter him beon sceolde. Mid þan he þære arwyrðan fæmnan grétinge lúflice onfeng, ða be þon þe he geaxod wæs, hwa þære

¹ MS. þince.

² MS. árfæstlice.

³ MS. abbodysse.

⁴ MS. þa.

⁵ MS. arwyrðe lifes broþor.

the bishop's attendants; then he saw the aforesaid brother Wigfrith, and spake thus to him: And now, brother Wigfrith, what sort of man seemeth thee now the priest is of whom thou saidst yesterday that thou wouldst try whether he were good or bad? Then Wigfrith arose, and bowed to the earth, and confessed his fault to him. Then the holy man was forthwith reconciled to him, and gave and granted him his pardon. The hallowing of the island of Crowland, and also of the blessed man Guthlac, took place at harvest-time, five days before St. Bartholomew's mass.

XVIII.

Concerning abbess Ecgburh.

It happened also on a time that the venerable maid Ecgburh, abbess, the daughter of Aldwulf the king, sent to the venerable man Guthlac a leaden coffin, and winding-sheet thereto, and besought him by the holy name of the celestial King, that after his departure they should place his body therein. She sent the message by a brother of worthy life, and bid him ask him, who should be the keeper of the place after him. When he had kindly received the message of the venerable maid, then concerning that which he was asked—who should be the

stówe hyrde æfter him beon scolde, þa andswarode he and cwæð, þæt se man wære on hæþenum folce, and þa git nære gefullod; ac þeah hwæpere þæt he þa sona come¹ and þa gerynu sceolde onfon fulluht-bæpes. And hit eac swá gelamp: forþon se ylca Cissa, se þe eft þa stowe heold, he com þæs ymb litel fæc on Bretone and hine man þær gefullode, swá se Godes wer foresæde.

XIX.

Be Aðelbalde þam kyninge.

Swylce nys eac mid idelnysse to forelætenne þæt wundor þe þes halga wer Guthlac foresæde and mannum cydde. Wæs on sumre tíde þæt com se foresprecena wræcca to him Aþelbald; and hine Ceolred se kyning hider and þider wíde aflymde, and he his ehtnysse and his hatunge fleah and scúnode. Ða com he to þære spæce þæs halgan weres Guðlaces; þaþa se mennisca² fultum him beswác, hine þeah hwæpere se godcunda fultum gefrefrode. Mid þy he þa to þam Godes were com, and he him his earfoða rehte, þa cwæð Guðlac þus to him: Eala min cniht þinra gewinna and earfoða ic eom únforgitende; ic forþon þe gemiltsode, and for þinum earfoðum ic bæd God þæt he þe gemiltsode and þe gefultomode; and he þa mine béne gehyrde, and he þe syleþ ríce and anweald þinre

¹ MS. com.

² MS. mennisce.

keeper of the place after him,—he answered and said, that the man was of heathen race, and was not yet baptised; but notwithstanding, that he should soon come, and should receive the rites of baptism. And so it came to pass; for the same Cissa, who afterwards held the place, came to Britain a little time afterwards, and they baptised him there, as the man of God foretold.

XIX.

Concerning Athelbald the king.

Also we must not pass over with neglect the wonder which this holy man Guthlac foretold and made known to men. It happened on a time that the before-mentioned exile Athelbald came to him; and Ceolred the king hunted him hither and thither, far and wide, and he fled from and shunned his persecutions and his malice. He had recourse then to the conversation of the holy man Guthlac; for when human help had failed him, notwithstanding divine support comforted him. When he came to the man of God, and related to him his troubles, Guthlac spake thus to him: O! my son, I am not forgetful of thy conflicts and thy troubles; for this cause I took pity on thee, and for thy troubles I prayed God that he would have pity on thee, and support thee; and he has heard my prayer, and he will give thee kingdom and rule over thy people,

þeode, and þa ealle fleoð beforan þe þa þe hatiað, and þin sweord fornymeð ealle þine þa wiperweardan, forþon Drihten þe bið on fultume. Ac be þu geþyldig, forþon ne begitest þu na þæt ríce on gerisne woruldlicra þinga, ac mid Drihtnes fultume þu þin ríce begytest; forþon Drihten þa genyperað þe þe nu hatiað, and Drihten afyrreð þæt rice fram him and hæfð þe gemynt and geteohhod. Þa he þas word gehyrde, he þa sona Aþelbald his hiht and his geleafan on God sylfne trymede, and he getrywode and gelyfde ealle þa þing þe se halga wer foresæde, þæt rícu¹ beoð onwende and ofánumene and hit á to þam ende efesteð; and se ríca and se heana, se gelæreda and se ungelærda, and geong and eald, ealle hi gelice se stranga deað forgripeð and nymð.

XX.

Be þæs halgan weres lifes lenge and be his forðfore.

Ða gelámp hit on fyrste æfter þissum þæt se leofa Godes þeow Guthlac æfter þon fiftyne gear þe he Gode willigende lædde his lif, þa wolde God his þone leofan þeow of þam gewinne þisse worulde yrmþa gelædan to þære ecan reste þæs heofoncundan ríces. Ða gelamp on sumne sál mid þy he on his cyrcan æt his gebedum wæs, þa wæs he semninga mid adle gestanden. And he sona ongeat þæt him

¹ MS. rice.

and they shall flee before thee who hate thee ; and thy sword shall destroy all thy adversaries, for the Lord is thy support. But be thou patient, for thou shalt not get the kingdom by means of worldly things, but with the Lord's help thou shalt get thy kingdom. For the Lord shall bring down those who now hate thee, and the Lord shall remove the kingdom from them, and hath remembered and appointed thee. When he heard these words, Athelbald soon fixed his hope and faith on God himself, and he trusted and believed all the things which the holy man foretold,—how that kingdoms are overturned and taken away, and are evermore hastening to an end ; and the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, and young and old,—all these alike, strong death clutcheth and taketh.

XX.

Concerning the length of the holy man's life, and his departure.

It happened, some while after this, that God's beloved servant Guthlac, after that he had led a life serving God for fifteen years,—then God pleased to lead his dear servant from the conflict of this world's miseries to the eternal rest of the heavenly kingdom. It happened on a time, when he was in his church at his prayers, he was suddenly attacked with illness. And he soon perceived that God's hand was sent

wæs Godes hand to sended, and he swyþe geblīþe hine het gyrwan to þam ingange þæs heofonlican rīces. Wæs he seofon dagas mid þære adle ge-swenced, and þæs eahtopan dæges¹ he wæs to þam ytemestan gelæded. Þa gestod hine seo² adl þon wodnesdæge³ nehst easton and þa eft þan ylcan dæge on þære eastor-wucan he þæt lif of þam lichaman sende. Wæs sum broðor mid him þæs nama wæs Beccel, þurh þone ic þa forðfore ongeat þæs eadigan weres. Mid þy he þa com þy dæge þe hine seo adl⁴ gestod, þa acsode he hine be gehwylcum þingum. Þa andswarode he him lætlice, and mid langre sworetunge þæt orð of þam breostum teah. Þa he þa geseah þone halgan wer swá ún-roted modes, þa cwæð he to him: Hwæt gelamp þe nywes nu ða; ac þe on þysse nihte sum untrum-nys⁵ gelamp? Þa andswarode he him and him cwæð to: Adl⁶ me gelámp on þisse nihte. Þa frægn he eft hine: Wast þu mín fæder þone intingan þinre adle oþþe to hwylcum ende wenest þu þæt seo mettrummys⁷ wylle gelimpan? Þa andswarode he him eft se halga wer and him cwæð to: Þeos⁸ ongi-tenys minre untrummysse ys, þæt of þisum lichaman sceal beon se gast alæded; forþon þan eahtopan dæge⁹ bið ende þære minre mettrummysse; forþon þæt gedafenað þæt se gast beo gegearwod, þæt ic

¹ MS. dæge.² MS. se.³ MS. wodnes dæg.⁴ MS. adle.⁵ MS. untrummysse.⁶ MS. adle.⁷ MS. mettrummysse.⁸ MS. þes ongiitenysse.⁹ MS. dæg.

upon him, and he right gladly began to prepare himself for his entry into the heavenly kingdom. He was seven days afflicted with the malady, and on the eighth day he was brought to the utmost extremity. The malady attacked him on the Wednesday next before Easter, and on the same day of the Easter-week after he gave forth his life from his body. There was a brother with him whose name was Beccel, through whom I have been informed concerning the departure of the blessed man. When he came to him on the day when the sickness seized him, he asked him concerning certain things. And he answered him slowly, and drew the breath from his chest with long sighing. When he saw the holy man in so distressful mood, he said to him: What new thing has now happened to thee; has some sickness befallen thee on this night? Then he answered him and said to him: Sickness has befallen me this night. Then again he asked him: Knowest thou, my father, the cause of thy sickness, or to what end thinkest thou that this illness will come? Then again the holy man answered and said to him: The meaning of my illness is this, that the spirit must be taken away from this body; for on the eighth day there will be an end of my illness; therefore it behoves that the spirit be prepared, that

mæg Gode filian. þa he þa þas word gehyrde se foresprecena broðor Beccel, he þa swyþe weop and geomrian ongan and mid mycelre uneðnysse his eago-spind mid tearum gelomlice leohte. þa frefrode hine se Godes wer Guthlac and him cwæð to : Min bearn, ne beo þu na geúnrotsod forþon ne bið me nænig úneþnys¹ þæt ic to Drihtne minum Gode fare. Wæs swa mycel rumnes on him þæs halgan geleafan and swa mycele he to þære Godes lufan hæfde, þæt se cupa and se uncupa ealle him wæs gelíce gesegen on góðum dædum. Ða þæs ymbe feower niht com se forma easter-dæg, he þa se eadiga wer Guðlac on þære his mettrumnysse Gode lac onsægde and mæssan sálg, and syþþan he þa déorwyrþan lác offrode Cristes blodes, þa ongan he þam foresprecenan breþer godspellian ; and he hine swa swyþe deoplice mid his láre ineode, þæt he næfre ár ne syþþan swylc ne gehyrde. Mid þan þe [se]² seofoda dæg com þære his mettrumnysse, þa com se foresprecena broðor on þære sixtan tíde þæs dæges, þæt he hine geneosian wolde : þa gemette he hine hleonian on þam hale his cyrcan wið þam weofode. þa hwæþere he ne mihte wið hine spreca, forþon he geseah þæt his untrumnys³ hine swyþe swencte : þa þeah hwæþere he hine æfter þon bæd þæt he his word to him forlete ár þon þe he swulte. He þa se eadiga wer Guþlac hwæt-hwego fram þam wage þa werigan limu ahóf, cwæð þa þus to him : Mín

¹ MS. uneþnysse.² [se] not in MS.³ MS. untrumnysse.

I may go to God. When the aforesaid brother Beccel heard these words, he wept much and began to lament, and in great grief incessantly moistened his cheeks with tears. Then the man of God Guthlac comforted him, and said to him: My son, be not thou grieved, for to me it is no sorrow that I am going to the Lord my God. There was in him such a depth of holy faith, and so great love of God had he thereto, that the known and the unknown was entirely alike in his sight in respect of good deeds. When after four nights the first Easter-day arrived, the blessed man Guthlac in his sickness performed service to God, and sang mass, and after that he offered up the precious sacrifice of Christ's blood, he began to preach the gospel to the aforesaid brother; and he penetrated him so deeply with his counsel, that he never before nor after heard the like. When the seventh day of his illness came, then came the aforesaid brother at the sixth hour of the day to visit him. He found him leaning in the corner of his oratory, against the altar. Notwithstanding he might not speak to him, for he saw that his malady violently afflicted him; however, afterwards he begged of him that he would leave his last words with him before he died. Then the blessed man Guthlac raised a little his weary limbs from the wall, and thus spake to him: My

bearn, nu ys þære tíde swípe neah, ac behealt þu min þa ytemestan bebodu. Æfter þon þe min sawl of þam lichaman fére, þonne far þu to minre swustor and hyre secge þæt ic forþon her on middanearde hire ansyne fleah and hi geséon nolde, þæt wyt eft on héofonum befóran Godes ánsyne unc eft gesáwon; and hi bidde þæt heo minne lichaman on þa þrúh gesette, and mid þære scytan bewínde þe me Ecgburh onsende. Nólde ic þa hwíle þe ic leofode mid línenum hráegle gegyred beon, ac nu for lufan þære Cristes fæmnan, þa gife þe heo me sende ic wylle to þon dón þe ic heold; þonne se lichama and seo sawul hi todáeleð, þæt man þone lichaman mid þam hráegle bewínde, and on þa þruh gelecge. Ða se foresprecena broðor þas þing gehyrde, he þa wæs þus sprecende: Ic þe halsige, mín se leofa fæder, nu ic þine untrumnyse geseo and ongite, and ic gehyre þæt þu þas woruld scealt forlétan, þæt þu me secge be þære wisan þe ic náfre áer næs gedyrstig þe to axianne. Of þære tíde þe ic ærest mid þe on þisum westene eardode, ic þe gehyrde spreca on æfenne and on æren-mergen ic nat mid hwæne. Forþon ic þe bidde and halsige þæt þu me náfre behydgne and sorhfulne be þisse wisan ne lâte æfter þinre forðfóre. He þa se Godes wer mid langre sworetunge þæt orð of þam breostum teah, andswarode him þa and cwæð: Min bearn, nelt þu beon gemyndig, þas þing þe ic áer nolde

son, now is it very near the time, and do thou attend to my last commands. After my soul departs from the body, then go thou to my sister, and say to her, that I for this end here on earth avoided her presence and would not see her, that we two hereafter might see each other in heaven, before the face of God; and bid her that she place my body in the coffin, and wind it in the sheet which Ecgburh sent to me. I would not, whilst I lived, be clothed with a linen garment; but now, for love of the maid of Christ, the gift which she sent me I will put to the purpose for which I have kept it, namely, when my body and my soul part, let them wrap my body in the vestment, and lay it in the coffin. When the aforesaid brother heard these things, he thus spake: I beseech thee, my dear father, now while I behold and understand thy infirmity, and I hear that thou must leave this world, that thou explain to me concerning a matter which I never before durst ask thee about. From the time that I first dwelt with thee in this wilderness I have heard thee at even and at daybreak speaking I know not with whom. Wherefore I beg and beseech thee that thou never leave me anxious and troubled about this matter after thy departure. The man of God with a long sigh drew the breath from his breast, answered him and said: My son, be thou not troubled,—the things which before I would tell to

nænigum woruld-men secgan, þa hwile þe ic lifigende wære, ic hit þe wylle nu onwreon and gecyþan. Ðan æfteran geare þe ic þis westen eardode, þæt on æfen and on ærne-mergen God sylfa þone engcel mínre frofre to me sende, se me þa heofonlican geryno openode, þa nanegum men ne alyfað to secganne, and þa heardnysse mínes gewinnes mid heofonlican engellicum spræcum ealle gehihte; þe me æfweardan gecyðde and geopenode swa þa andweardan.¹ And nu mín bearn, þæt leofe, geheald þu mín word, and þu hi nænigum oþrum men ne secge buton Pege minre swustor and Ecgberhte þam ancran, gif þæt gelimpe þæt þu wið hine gesprece. Þa he þas word spræc he þa his heafod to þam wage onhylde, and mid langre sworetunge þæt orð of þam breostum teah. Mid þy he eft gewyrpte, and þam orðe² onfeng, þa com seo swetnys of þam muðe swa þæra wynsumestra³ blostmena stenc. And þa þære æfter-fylgendan nihte mid þan þe se foresprecena broðor nihtlicum gebedum befeall, þa geseah he eall þæt hus útan mid mycelre beorhtnesse ymbseald; and seo beorhtnys þær áwunode oð dæg. Þa hit on mergen dæg wæs, he þa se Godes wer eft styrede hwæt-hwego and þa weregan leomu upahof. Þa cwæð he to him þus: Min béarn, gearwa þe þæt⁴ þu on þone sið fére þe ic þe gehét; forþon nu ys seo tíð þæt se gást sceal for-

¹ MS. andweardum.² MS. orð.³ MS. wynsumesta blostman.⁴ MS. 7

no man of the world while I lived, I will now reveal and make known to thee. The second year after I dwelt in this wilderness, at even and at daybreak God himself sent the angel of my comfort to me, who opened to me the heavenly mysteries, which it is lawful to no man to tell, and the hardness of my conflict he quite softened with heavenly angelic discourses; who also made known and revealed to me absent as well as present things. And now, my son, beloved one, keep thou my word, and tell these things to no other person except to Pege my sister and to Ecgeberht the hermit, if it chance that thou speak with him. When he had spoken these words, he leaned his head to the wall, and with a long sigh drew the breath from his breast. When he turned himself again and recovered his breath, there came fragrance from his mouth like the odour of the sweetest flowers. And on the following night, when the aforesaid brother fell to his nightly prayers, he beheld all the house encompassed about with a great brightness; and this brightness remained there till day. When it dawned on the morrow, the man of God stirred again a little, and raised up his weary limbs. Then spake he thus to him: My son, prepare thyself to go on the journey which I bid thee; for now is the time that the spirit must

lætan þa weregan limo and to þam úngeendodan gefean wyle geferan, to heofona ríce. Ða he þa þas þingc spræc he þa his handa aþenede to þam weofode, and hine getrymede mid þam heofonlican mete, Cristes lichaman and his blode¹; and þa æfter þon his eagan to heofonum ahóf, and his earmas aþenede, and þa þone gast mid gefean and blisse to þam ecum gefean sende² þæs heofonlican rices. Betwux þa þingc se foresprecena broðor geseah eall þæt hus mid heofonlicre bryhto geond goten, and he þær geseah fyrenne torr³ up of þære eorþan to heofones heannysse, þæs beorhtnys wæs eallum oþrum úngelic, and for his fægernysse þæt seo sunne sylf æt middum dæge, eall hire⁴ scima wæs on blæco gecyrred. And engcellice sangas geond þære lyfte faco he gehyrde; and eall þæt igland mid mycelre swétnysse wunderlices stences ormædum wæs gefylled. He þa se foresprecena broþor sona mid mycelre fyrhte wæs geslégen, éode þa on scip and þa ferde to þære stowe þe se Godes wer ær behead; and þa com to Pege and hire þa eall þa þing sæde æfter endebyrdnesse swa se broðor hine het. Þa heo þa gehyrde þone broþor forðferedne, heo þa sona on eorðan feoll and mid mycelre hefignysse gefylled wearð þæt heo word gecwepan ne mihte. Mid þan heo þa eft hig gehyrte, heo þa of þam breostum innewardum lange swore-tunge teah, and þa þam Wealdende þanc sæde þæs þe he swá wolde. Hi þa þan æfteran dæge æfter

¹ MS. blod.² MS. ferde.³ MS. fyrene topp.⁴ MS. hira.

leave the weary limbs, and will go to the endless joy, the kingdom of heaven. When he had said these things, he stretched out his hands to the altar, and strengthened himself with the heavenly food, Christ's body and blood. And after that he raised his eyes to heaven, and stretched out his arms, and then sent forth his spirit with joy and bliss to the eternal happiness of the heavenly kingdom. Amidst these things the aforesaid brother saw all the house perfused with heavenly brightness, and he beheld there a fiery tower, from the earth up to the height of heaven, whose brightness was unlike all other, and by its brilliance the sun itself at midday, —all its lustre was turned to paleness. And he heard angelic songs through the regions of the air; and all the island was profusely filled with the exceeding sweetness of a wondrous odour. Thereupon the aforesaid brother was smitten with great fear, went on board a boat, and travelled to the place which the man of God had before bidden him seek; and there he came to Pege, and told her all these things in order as her brother had bidden him. When she heard that her brother was departed, she forthwith fell on the earth, and was filled with great sorrow, so that she could not speak a word. When she presently recovered herself, she drew from her breast within a long sigh, and gave thanks to the Lord for that he would have it so to be. Then

þam bebode þæs eadigan weres hi becomon to þam eglande, and hi ealle þa stowe and þa hus þær gemetton mid ambrósie þære wyrte swetnysse gefylde. Heo¹ þa þone halgan wer on þreora daga fæce mid halgum lof-sangum Gode bebead, and on þam þridan dæge swa se Godes wer bebead hig þone lichaman on cyrcan mid arwurðnysse bebyrgdon. Awolde seo godcunde² arfæstnys mannum openlice ætywan on hu mycclum wuldre he wæs se eadiga wer syþþan he bebyrged wæs; forþon þe he ær beforan manna eagum swá manigum wundrum scean and berhte. Mid þy he þa wæs twelf monað bebyrged æfter his forðfóre, ða onsende God on þæt mod þære Drihtnes þeowan, þæt heo wolde eft þone broðorlican lichaman on oðre byrgene gesettan. Heo þa þyder togesomnode Godes þeowa and mæsse-preosta and circlicre³ endebyrdnysse, þæt þy ylcan dæge þæs ymbe twelf monað þe seo forðfóre þæs eadigan weres wæs, hi þa þa byrgene untynndon; þa gemetton hi þone lichaman ealne ansúndne swa he ær wæs and þa gyt lifigende wære, and on lipa⁴ bignyssum and on eallum þingum þæt he wæs slæpendum men gelicra myccle þonne forðferedum. Swylce eac þa hrægl þære ylcan niwnysse þe hig on fruman ymbe þone lichaman gedón wæron. þa hi þas þing gesawon þe þær samod æt wæron, þa wæron hi swiðe forhte for þig þe hi þær gesawon; and hi swa swyðe mid þære

¹ MS. Hi.² MS. godcundnysse arfæstlice manna.³ MS. cynlice.⁴ MS. lipa.

they on the next day, according to the command of the blessed man, came to the island, and they there found all the place and the buildings filled with the sweetness of the herb ambrosia. She then for three days' space, with holy hymns of praise commended the holy man to God, and on the third day, as the man of God had bidden, they buried the corpse in the church with solemnity. The divine goodness would openly display to men in how great glory the blessed man was after he was buried ; as he erewhile, before the eyes of men, shone and was resplendent with so many miracles. After his death, when he had been buried twelve months, God put it into the heart of the servant of the Lord that she should remove her brother's body to another tomb. She assembled thither many of the servants of God, and mass-priests, and others of ecclesiastical order ; and on the same day, on which, twelve months before, the departure of the blessed man took place, they opened the tomb, and there they found the corpse quite sound as it was at first, and as though he were yet living ; and in the flexibility of the sinews and in all things, it was much more like a sleeping man than a dead one. Also the garments were of the same newness as when they were first put round the body. When they who were there assembled together saw these things, they were much amazed at what they saw ; and they were so smitten with

fyrhte wæron geslégene þæt hi naht spreca ne mihton. Ða heo þa seo Cristes þeowe Pege þæt geseah, þa wæs heo sona mid gastlicere blisse gefylled and þa þone halgan lichaman mid þære arwurðnysses Cristes lof-sangum on oþre scytan bewand, þa Ecgbriht se ancra ær him lifigende to þære¹ ylcan þenunge sende. Swylce eac þa þruh na læs þæt hi eft þa on eorðan dydon, ac on gemyndelicre stowe and on árwyrrþe hi þa gesetton. Seo stow nu eft fram Aðelbalde þam kyninge mid manigfealdum getimbrum ys arwurðlice gewurþod, þær se sigefæsta lichama þæs halgan weres gastlice restep; and se man se þe þa stowe mid ealle his mægne geseoð, þonne þurh þa þingunge þæs halgan weres he gefremeð and þurhtyþ þæt he wilnað. Se eadiga wer Guðlac he wæs gecóren man on godcundum dædum and ealra gesnytttra gold-hord; and he wæs gestæppig on his þeawum, swylce he wæs on Cristes þeowdóme swa geornfullice abysgod þæt him næfre elles on his muðe næs buton Cristes lof, ne on his heortan butan árfæstnys, ne on his móde butan syb and lufu and mildheortnes; ne hyne nan man yrre geseah ne úngeornfulne to Cristes þeowdome, ac á man mihte on his andwlitan lufe and sibbe ongytan, and á wæs swetnys on his móde and snyttro on his breostum and swá mycel glædnys² on him wæs, þæt he á þam cuðum and þam uncuþum wæs gelice gesegen.

¹ MS. þam.² MS. glædnysse.

the fear thereof that they could say nothing. But when Pege, the servant of Christ, beheld it, she was forthwith filled with spiritual joy; and she wound the holy corpse, with praises of Christ's honour, in the other sheet which Ecgbriht the anchorite formerly sent him, when alive, for that same service. Also the coffin they did not put into the earth again, but they set it in a memorable place and an honourable. The place has now since then been honourably distinguished by king Athelbald with manifold buildings, where the victorious body of the holy man spiritually rests: and the man who with all his heart seeks that place, through the intercession of the holy man he shall accomplish and bring about what he desires. The blessed man Guthlac was a chosen man in divine deeds, and a treasure of all wisdom; and he was steadfast in his duties, as also he was earnestly intent on Christ's service, so that never was aught else in his mouth but Christ's praise, nor in his heart but virtue, nor in his mind but peace and love and pity; nor did any man ever see him angry nor slothful to Christ's service; but one might ever perceive in his countenance love and peace; and evermore sweetness was in his temper, and wisdom in his breast, and there was so much cheerfulness in him, that he always appeared alike to acquaintances and to strangers.

XXI.

Be Aþelbalde kyingce.

Æfter þyssum geacsode Aþelbald se foresprecena wræcca on feor-landum þæs halgan weres fôrðfóre, Sce Guþlaces; forþon he ana ær þon wæs hys gebeorh and frofor. þa wæs he semninga mid unrotnysse gestýred, ferde þa þider to þære stowe þær þæs Godes weres lichama on wæs, forþon he gehyhte þurh þone halgan wer þæt him God sealde his gewinnes frofre. þa he þa to þære byrgene com þæs halgan weres, he þa wepende mid tearum þus cwæð: Mín fæder hwæt þu canst míne yrmþa, þu me wære symble on fultume on mínum unyðnyssum: hwider wylle ic me nu cyrran, hwa frefreð me gif þu me forlætst? Mid þy he þa þas þing and manig oþer æt þære byrgene wepende spræc, þa seo nihtlice tid com, þa wæs he þær on sumum huse inne þe he ær be Guthlace lifigendum hwilum on gæstliþnesse wunode. Ða he þa on þam huse inne wæs, þa wæs he on þam únrotan móde hider and þyder þencende, him þa æt nyxtan wæron þa eagan mid þam slæpe betyned. He þa færinga forhtlice abráed, þa geseah he ealle þa cytan innan mid heofonlice leohte gefylde. Mid þan he þa wæs forhtlice geworden for þære úngewunelican gesihþe, ða geseah he þone eadigan wer Guthlac on engellice ansyne him beforan standan and him cwæð to:

XXI.

Concerning king Athelbald.

After these things Athelbald, the afore-mentioned exile, heard in far lands of the death of the holy man St. Guthlac; for he alone was formerly his refuge and comfort. Then was he suddenly agitated with sorrow, and went thither to the place where the body of God's servant was, for he hoped that through the holy man God would grant him comfort in his conflict. When he came to the tomb of the holy man, weeping with tears, he thus spake: My father, lo! thou knowest my miseries, thou wast ever my support in my afflictions; whither shall I now turn myself; who shall comfort me if thou forsakest me? After he had with weeping said these things and much else at the tomb, when the hour of night came, he was in a house where he had often abode as a guest whilom when Guthlac was living. Whilst he was in this house, whilst he was turning his thoughts hither and thither in his sorrowful mind, his eyes were at length closed in sleep. Suddenly he woke up in a fright, and there he saw all the cottage filled within with heavenly light. Whilst he was in fear at the unusual sight, he saw the blessed man Guthlac in angelic aspect stand before him, and he spake thus to him: Thou shalt



Ne wylt þu þe ondrædan, ac beo þu ánræde, forþon God þe ys on fultume: and ic forþon to þe cóm, þurh mine þingunge God þine bene gehyrde. Ac ne beo þu geunrotsod forþon dagas synt gewitene þinra yrmða, forþon ær sunne twelf monða hringe útan ymbgán hæbbe þu wealdest þises rices¹ þe þu hwile æfter wunne. And na læs þæt an þæt he him þæt rice towerd sæde, ac eac þa lengce his lifes he him eall gerehte. Ðas tacna God geworhte þurh þæs halgan weres geearnunge æfter þon þe he forðfered wæs and bebyrged.

XXII.

Wæs sum his scipes-man þæs foresprecenan² wræccan Apelbaldes on þære mægða Wissa, þæs eagan wáron mid fleo and mid dimnesse twelf monð ofergán. Mid þy his læcas³ hine mid sealfum lange teolodon, and hit him nawiht to háelo ne fremede; ða wæs he innan godcundlice manod þæt gif hine man to þære stówe gelædde Guthlaces, þæt he þonne his háelo and gesihþe onfengce. Næs þa nánig hwil to þon þæt him his frynd on þære stowe brohton to Cruwlande, and hi þa gespræcon to þære Cristes þeowan Pegan; and heo þæs mannes geleafan trumne and fæstne gehyrde. þa lædde heo hine on þa cyrcan þær se arwyrða lichama inne wæs

¹ MS. rice.² MS. foresprecena.³ MS. læces.

not be afraid, but be thou steadfast, for God is thy support; and I am therefore come to thee, for that through my intercession God hath heard thy prayer. But be thou not sorrowful, for the days are past of thy afflictions; for ere the sun shall have gone a twelve months' circuit round about, thou shalt wield this kingdom, which thou erewhile didst contend for. And not only did he prophesy to him his future kingdom, but he also related to him completely the length of his life. These signs God wrought through the holy man's merit after he was dead and buried.

XXII.

There was a boatman of the aforesaid exile Athelbald whose eyes had been for twelve months overspread with the white speck and dimness. When his physicians had long treated him with salves, and this no whit effected his healing, he was divinely admonished within, that if they brought him to Guthlac's resting-place he should recover his health and sight. Not long after his friends brought him to the place Crowland, and they spoke to Christ's servant Pege; and she was informed of the firm and fast faith of the man. Then she led him to the church wherein the venerable body of

Guthlaces; genam þa þæs gehalgodan sealtes þe Guthlac ær sylf gehalgode, and wætte and drypte in þa eagan; and þa ær heo oþerne drópan on þæt oþer eage dyde, þa mihte he mid þan oðron geseon, and on þam ylcan inne he géarlice oncneow hwæt þær inne wæs, and he hal and gesund ham ferde.

Sy urum Drihtne lof and wuldor and wurðmynt, and þam eadigan were Sce Guthlace on ealra worulda¹ woruld áá buton ende on ecnysse. Amen.

¹ MS. woruld áworuld.

Guthlac was ; she took some of the hallowed salt which Guthlac himself had formerly hallowed, and wetted it, and dropped it on his eyes ; and ere she put a second drop on the second eye he was able to see with that eye, and he readily perceived what there was in the room, and he went home whole and sound.

Be praise and glory and honour to our Lord, and to the blessed man St. Guthlac, world of all worlds, for ever and ever, without end to eternity. Amen.



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page 2. PROLOGUE.

As a specimen of the style of Felix, and to enable the reader to form some judgment of the liberties taken by the Saxon translator, I transcribe the Latin prologue entire.*

† Incipit Prologus de vitâ Sci Guthlaci.

In Domino dominorum domino meo. Mihi præ ceteris regaliū primatum gradibus dilectissimo, Ælfwaldo regi orientalium Anglorum rite regimina regenti, Felix catholicæ congregationis vernaculus perpetuæ prosperitatis in Christo salutem.

Jussionibus tuis obtemperans libellum, quem de vitâ patris beatæ memoriæ Guthlaci componi præcepisti, simplici verborum vimine textum, non absque procacitatis imprudentiâ, institui: eâ tamen fiduciâ coram obtuli, obsecrans ut si ullatenus, ut fore arbitror, illic vitiosus sermo aures eruditi lectoris perculserit, litteram in fronte paginæ veniam poscentem intendat. Reminiscatur quoque, efflagito, quia regnum Dei non in verborum facundiâ, sed in fidei constantiâ persistit. Salutem quidem sæculo non ab oratoribus sed a piscatoribus prædicatam fuisse sciat. Sancti quoque Hieronimi dicta meminerit, qui rem ridiculam esse arbitratus est, ut sub regulis Donati grammatici verba cœlestis oraculi redigeret. Sed si forsitan alius animositatis nostræ fastibus hoc opus nos arripere imputat, dum alii plurimi Anglorum librarii, quorum ingeniositatis fluentia inter flores rethoricæ per virecta litteraturæ pure liquide lucideque rivant, qui melius luculentiusque componere valuerint,—sciat nos hoc opusculum non tam

* From the Cotton MS. Nero E. 1, with some corrections from the Benedictine and Bollandine texts.

volentiae quam obedientiae gratiâ incepisse. Propterea laboris mei votis, O Lector, quisquis es faveas; sin etiam ut adsolet more obtrectatoris succensueris, cave ut ubi lucem putaveris ne a tenebris obcaeceris;—id est, ne cum recta reprehenderis ignorantiae tenebris fuseris. Mos enim caecorum est, cum in luce perambulant tunc in tenebris errare putant. Lucem enim nesciunt sed in tenebris semper oberrant. Caecitas autem in Scripturis ignorantia est, ut apostolus dixit: Caecitas ex parte contigit in Israel donec plenitudo gentium subintraret. Origo quidem totius mali ab ignorantia venit. Quapropter te admoneo, Lector, ut aliena non reprehendas, ne ab aliis quasi alienus reprehendaris. Sed ne sensus legentium prolixae sententiae molesta defensio obnubilet, pestiferis obtrectantium incantationibus aures obturantes, velut transvadato vasti gurgitis aequore, ad vitam Sancti Guthlaci stilum flectendo quasi ad portum vitae pergemus. Quoniam igitur exegisti a me ut de vita Sancti Guthlaci vel conversatione tibi scriberem, quemadmodum coeperit quidve ante propositum fuerit vel qualem vitae terminum habuerit, prout a dictantibus idoneis testibus quos scitis audivi, addendi minuendique modum vitans, eadem orthothemio depinxi; ad hujus utilitatis commodum hunc codicellum fieri ratus, ut illis qui sciunt ad memoriam tanti viri nota revocandi fiat, his vero qui ignorant velut late pansae viae indicium notescat. Non enim sine certissimâ inquisitione rerum gestarum aliquid de tanto viro scribebam, nec tandem ea quae scripsi sine subtilissimâ indubiorum testium sanctione libratim scribenda quibusdam dare praesumpsi; quin potius diligentissime inquirens quantacunque scripsi investigavi a reverendissimo quodam abbate Wilfrido et a presbitero purae conscientiae, ut arbitror, Cissan, vel etiam ab aliis qui diutius cum viro Dei conversati vitam ipsius ex parte noverant. Ergo quantacunque de vitae ipsius orthonomiâ stilo perstrinxero, minima de magnis pauca de plurimis audisse aestimate. Non enim ambigo illos dictatores non omnia facta illius potuisse cognoscere, nec ab illis tota dictata me descripsisse glorifico. Sed ut tanti viri tanti nominis relatio compleatur, prout ubique miracula illius fulserunt, percunctamini, ut singulis quae novere referentibus sequentis libelli materia adgregetur. Igitur eximiae dilectionis tuae imperiis obtemperans, textum praesentis cartulae prout potui digessi, majoris scientiae auctoribus majorem partem linquens; principium in principium, finem in fine compono.

Page 2, line 3. Alfwold.

Grammatical correctness requires the dative, Alfwolde. The Saxon scribe is often guilty of cutting off an *e*, and as frequently of adding one when not required. To avoid swelling the number of alterations, I suffer Alfwold to stand here, and the reader, if he pleases, may take the word for a vocative.

ibid. line 9. Ahtest.

Literally, Thou didst own. This can hardly be the true reading: Qu.? Tæhtest, *præcepisti*.

Ibid. þære arwurðan gemynde.

The MS. has, þæs arwurðan gemynde, which I have altered as above, because in the two other places in which the phrase occurs in the Life of Guthlac, as well as in numerous instances in Alfred's Beda, such is the form of the expression. In p. 20, l. 9, we have, Mid þan se foresprecena wer and þære eadigan gemynde Guthlac, etc.; and p. 24, l. 22, Swa þonne þære arwurðan gemynde Guðlac . . . was gelæd, etc. In Beda, lib. iv, cap. xxiii (p. 593, l. 4, Smith), To lare þære eadigan gemynde Paulinus, þæs ærestan bisceopes Norþanhymbra, etc.; and ib. p. 594, l. 18, Cwom þa to Cent to ðære eadigan gemynde Theodore ærcebiscope. See also lib. iv, cap. xxviii, (p. 606, l. 46); and lib. iv, cap. xix, (p. 587, l. 27).

The idiom is remarkable in two points: 1, for the use of gemynd in the feminine gender; and 2, for the agreement of the definite article with a word to which it does not properly belong, by the process expressively named, Attraction.

1. In Ælfric's Homilies, gemynd is used constantly as a neuter (or possibly masculine; as the oblique cases, which occur the most frequently, do not determine whether the word be masculine or neuter). Bosworth considers it masculine. But in Hom. vol. i, p. 288, þæt gemynd occurs several times. In Alfred's Beda the usage is commonly the same. One instance I have remarked of seo gemynd (lib. v, cap. vii, near the end); a stricter search may perhaps yield more.

2. The phrase, þære eadigan gemynde wer, is a substitute for se

wer eadiges gemyndes (or, eadigre gemynde). A transposition taking place of the qualitative genitive and the noun qualified, we should obtain, Se eadigre gemynde wer. But the article being attracted by the substantive with which it is now in juxtaposition, the ear triumphing over logic, the phrase becomes, þære eadigan gemynde wer. This process is very different from that which takes place when a *possessive* genitive is placed before the noun it defines. For instance, þæt heafod þæs horses, properly becomes, þæs horses heafod. Here it will be observed, that the genitive, having an article of its own, naturally retains it on changing its position, the other noun dropping its article, which becomes superfluous. If, however, the genitive be a word which does not admit of, or at any rate has not, the definite article, then the principal noun retains its article unchanged; e.g. for þæt word Godes, we find, þæt Godes word (Matt. xii, 20); for þære lufan Godes, þære Godes lufan (Guthl. p. 16, l. 14); and, se Godes man, seo Cristes fæmne, are expressions of constant occurrence. So Beda, lib. iii, cap. ii, (p. 536, l. 18,) þære wæpned-manna stowe, the men's apartment. Perhaps, however, in some of these cases, the genitive may be more properly considered as one of qualification than of possession; and words thus connected may be looked upon as compounds, the latter word merging that which precedes, so that the intervening genitive leaves the concord of the article with its noun undisturbed.

The following are instances of the change of the article by *attraction*: Luke xvi, 8; þære unrihtwisnesse tun-gerefan, instead of, þone tun-gerefan unrihtwisnesse, the steward of unrighteousness, i. e. the unrighteous steward. John xvi, 13; þære soðfæstnysse Gast, instead of, þone Gast soðfæstnysse, the Spirit of truth.

Page 2, line 14. [wordum].

The whole of this passage is very corrupt. Without emendation it yields no sense at all. The insertion and alterations which I have made, make it agree in some measure with the original. The words, ac gemune and gebence, are repeated apparently by mistake; fram idelum þaucum, must be wrong; but whether the mistake be that of the translator or the scribe, I cannot determine, and leave the words as I find them.

Page 4, line 1. swa ic menige, etc.

The translator has departed entirely from the original, and it is not easy to tell exactly what he means. The order of the sentence appears to be inverted; gegylde and gesette agreeing, as I believe, with boc;—fægere and glæwlice gesette, could hardly be said of the writers of books. As a similar instance of inversion, compare p. 14, l. 20, þa ealdan kyningas, . . . þurh earmlicne deað and þurh sarlicne utgang þæs mánfullan lifes, þe þas woruld forleton.

Ibid. line 27. þæt him þonne, etc.

See Vernon's Guide to the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, p. 86, for similar constructions. An instance occurs, p. 16, l. 13, barn him swa swyþe innan þære Godes lufan.

Page 6, line 3. geradne.

Gerad, means *apt, suited, well-calculated*; from rædan. The sense of the modern German, gerade, i. e. straight, seems appropriate in this place.

Ibid. line 7. Ne tweoge ic aht, etc.

It will be perceived that the Saxon version expresses exactly the opposite of the meaning of the original. The insertion of a negative, ne, before mihton, would remedy this; but the latter part of the paragraph does not seem to favour the alteration.

Ibid. line 13. hyrde.

This word, which answers to cartulæ in the Latin, is not found in the dictionaries. Can it be an error of the copyist for hyde? Is that word ever used in the sense of a parchment or skin for writing? The passage is probably corrupt; and moreover the translator seems to have quite mistaken the sense of the original, as the reader will see by comparison.



Page 8, line 1. Æpelredes.

Æthelred began to reign A.D. 675, resigned his throne A.D. 704, and died A.D. 716. See Mr. Thorpe's Translation of Lappenberg's History of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, vol. i, p. 222; and the table of the kings of Mercia, at the end of the volume.

According to the Saxon Chronicle, Guthlac died A.D. 714. Felix says, anno 715 ab incarnatione Domini; a reckoning commencing nine months before the birth of our Lord. This date may therefore be considered to correspond with that of the Chronicle. According to Felix, St. Guthlac was twenty-six years old when he settled at Crowland, and resided there fifteen years; he must therefore have been forty-one or forty-two, at the time of his death. This brings his birth back to 673 or 672, and therefore before the commencement of Æthelred's reign.

Ibid. line 2. heh-þeode.

Latin: De egregia Merciorum stirpe. Does heh-þeod mean rather the principal or royal family of Mercia? But compare p. 66, l. 7, where it must needs be rendered, province.

Ibid. line 4. Iclingas.

The sixth in descent from Woden, in the genealogy of the kings of Mercia, was Icel, from whom this family took its name.

Ibid. line 8. þa ana.

Qu.? Should we read þa anan, or ane. In the sense of *alone*, ana is used as an accusative; e. g. Hom. i, p. 184, Me ána forlæt, leave me alone; and p. 350, Min latteow me þær ána forlet, my guide left me there alone.

Ibid. line 15. mid inseglum.

Did the termination *um* originally characterize the dative or ablative *singular* of substantives as well as of adjectives? There is no sense of plurality in such expressions as: on swefnum (see Matt. ii, 22), in a dream; to gemyndum, to remembrance; on hys gewældum, in his power; be lyfum, alive; and many like phrases. It is usual to term *um*, in these instances, an adverbial termination; but I see nothing to distinguish it in the examples adduced from a regular case-ending.

Page 10, line 3. þa com sum wif . . . yrnan.

In Anglo-Saxon, after verbs expressing *motion*, or the absence of it, the infinitive is required, where in modern English a present, in German a past, participle is used. Thus, *A.-S.* he com yrnan; *Germ.* er kam gerannt; *Eng.* he came running.

For instances, see p. 30, l. 16, þa comon twegen deoflu of þære lyfte slidan; p. 40, l. 26, þa geseah he þær standan twegen þara awerigdra gasta wepan (MS. weopon) swyþe and geomerian.

In the poetical Legend of St. Guthlac, Cod. Ex. 179, 4 ff.

þa cwom leohta mæst.

halig of heofonum.

hædre scinan.

In the poem of the Phoenix, Cod. Ex. p. 204, 5 ff.

hwonne up cyme.

æþelast tungla.

ofer yð-mere.

estan lixan.

Ibid. line 9. forþon þe þæt bearn þær acenned wæs.

There is some defect in the Anglo-Saxon version here. The Latin is as follows: Alii vero hæc audientes, ex divino præsagio ad manifestandam nascentis gloriam illud fuisse perhibebant. Alii autem sagacioris sententiæ conjecturis promere cœperunt hunc ex divinâ dispensatione in perpetuæ beatitudinis præmia destinatum esse.

Ibid. line 20. of þære þeode Guþlac.

Latin: Ex appellatione illius tribus quam dicunt Guthlacingas, proprietatis vocabulum ex cœlesti consilio, Guthlacus, percepit, quod ex qualitatibus compositione consequentibus meritis conveniebat. Nam ut illius gentis gnari perhibent Anglorum linguâ hoc nomen ex duobus integris constare videtur, hoc est *Guth* et *lac*.

This passage seems to indicate that the author, Felix, was not an Englishman. The MS. has, feawum gewritum; a mistake, it is to be hoped, of the copyist. I have merely substituted twam for feawum, but suspect that error still lurks in gewritum. Gewrit signifies rather a sentence, or inscription, than a single term.



Page 10, line 24. forþon þeah.

Perhaps þeah is merely an error of the scribe for þe. I have translated the passage as if þeah . . . þeah, were equivalent to cum . . . cum, for which, þe . . . þe is commonly used in Anglo-Saxon. The Latin runs thus: Quia ille cum vitiis bellando æternæ beatitudinis præmia cum triumphali infula perennis vitæ percepisset. The Saxon translator has apparently taken *cum* for a conjunction. There is a passage in Cædmon where þeah appears to be used like þe; p. 34, l. 2 (Thorpe's edition):

nát þeah þu mid ligenum fære.

þe þu drihtnes eart.

boda of heofonum.

"I know not whether thou comest with lies, or whether," etc.

Page 12, line 20. Ac on his scearpnysse þæt he weox.

An ellipsis of the words *ða wæs* or *ða gelamp*, must be supposed to take place here, to account for the use of the particle of dependence, þæt. Instances of this are frequent in the Life of Guthlac, e. g. p. 24, l. 17, ff., He wæs ær-þon ehtere his þære halgan cyrcan, and mid þan þe he to Damascus ferde þære byrig, þæt he wæs of þam bystrum gedwolum abroden, etc.; p. 18, l. 18, Ða ymbe twá winter þæs þe he his lif swa leofode under munuchade, þæt he þa ongan, etc.

Ibid. ult. he þa, swa he of slæpe onwoce, wearð his mot oncyrred.

An instance of anacoluthon, or change of construction; *mod* is the nominative to *wearð*, and *he*, the principal nominative in the sentence, is left without a verb. So p. 88, l. 13, And for his fægernysse þæt seo sunne sylf æt middum dæge, eall hire scima wæs on blæco gecyrred.

Page 14, line 14. wealcan dwelode.

The passage corresponding to this in the original is as follows Inter dubios volventis temporis eventus et atras caliginosæ vitæ nebulas, fluctuantisque sæculi gurgites jactaretur. The words in italics are those of which only a translation is attempted in the Anglo-Saxon The MS. reads *weolc 7 welode*. *Weolc* perf. from *wealcan* is explained

by Bosworth (who refers to this passage), *revolvit, effervescebat*; and *weolode* (which he identifies with *wellode* fr. *wellian*), *æstuvavit*. That the passage is corrupt appears, I think, from this, that *betweox* requires an accusative or a dative (Vernon, p. 89), and such word must immediately follow *middan-eardes*. By the alteration of one letter, and a distribution of those contained in *γ* (and), a reading is obtained which at least presents less difficulty than that of the MS., and is nearer to the Latin. *Wealcan* may be either the dative pl. from *wealc*, for *wealcum*, or possibly the infinitive of the verb, *wealcan*, used as a substantive, according to the German usage. I am not, however, prepared to adduce instances of this use of the infinitive.

Ibid. line 19. ff.

The original runs thus: *Nam cum antiquorum regum stirpis suæ per transacta sæcula miserabiles exitus et flagitiosum vitæ terminum contemplaretur, necnon et caducas mundi divitias contemptibilemque temporalis vitæ gloriam pervigili mente consideraret, tunc sibi proprii obitus sui imaginatam formam ostendit, etc.* I have translated the passage, under the impression that allusion was made to the numerous instances of Saxon kings who forsook their thrones to become monks or anchorites; a practice which came into fashion in Guthlac's time. The sense of the Latin is however different; and it may be perhaps better to translate: "who departed this world, by a miserable death and a wretched ending of their sinful life."

Page 16, line 20. Hrypadún.

Repton, in Derbyshire, once famous for its monastery, and as the capital city and burial-place of the kings of Mercia.

Page 18, line 20. wilnian westenes and sundor-setle.

Qu. ? whether we should read *sundor-setles*. Perhaps, however, the habitual dislike of uniformity which displays itself in the Anglo-Saxon spelling, may be traced in this junction of two different cases with the same verb. (*Wilnian* generally requires a genitive, or a dative preceded by the preposition, *on* or *to*.) As instances of a similar usage, compare *Ælf. Hom.* vol. ii. p. 604, *gelyfan on þa Halgan Drynnysse* and *soðre Annysse*; *Luke viii. 34, on þa ceastre and on tunum.*

Page 20, line 9. Se foresprecena wer and þære eadigan gemynde Guðlac.

The use of two articles coupled by a conjunction, to indicate one and the same object, is worthy of notice. For a similar instance, see Beda, lib. iv, cap. xxvii (p. 603, l. 26), Mon þone halgan wer and þone arwurþan Cūþbyrht to biscope gehalgode.

Ibid. line 14, þære stowe digelnysse.

The MS. reads þa stowe digelnysse. But as this expression must be considered as equivalent to þa digelnysse þære stowe, I have no hesitation in altering þa to þære, in conformity with the principle alluded to in the note on p. 2, l. 9.

Ibid. line 26. eahtoða dæg.

In the original, die nono Kalendarum Septembrium; i. e. the 24th of August.

Page 24, line 12. sceotode.

Sceotian, to shoot, a transitive verb, from sceotan, sceat, scuton, scoten, intransitive; a distinction which has been lost in modern English. So hangian, to hang, transitive, from hon (hangan), heng, hangen, intransitive. See p. 50, l. 16, 17.

Page 26, line 4. Wæs þær on þam ealande, etc.

The Vercelli Fragment begins here abruptly. Wæs þær in þam sprecenan iglande sum mycel hlæw of eorþan geworht, þone ylcan hlæw iu geara men bræcon and dulfon for feoc [r. feos] þingum, etc.

Ibid. line 11.

Verc. Fr. Ða þohte he þæt he nawðer þara, etc.

Ibid. line 13.

Verc. Fr. ealle dagas his lifes.

Page 26, line 14.

Verc. Fr. he hit swa forð-gelæste.

Ibid. line 15.

Verc. Fr. wæs his onðleofones swylc gemetegung. This last word I have adopted in the text, instead of the Cottonian reading, to gereorde, which does not agree with the original, and is tautologous.

Ibid. line 20.

Verc. Fr. mid þy he þy gewunelican þeowdome his sealmas sang and his gebedum ætfealh, þa se ealda feond mancynnes gengde geond þæt græs-wang, swa grymetende leo, þæt he his costunga attor wide geond stregde.

Page 28, line 1.

The remainder of this sentence is very carelessly written in the Vercelli Fragment; the reader may find some exercise for his ingenuity in correcting it. Mid þy he þa yfelnes mægen and his grimnesse attor teldað [r. todæleð], þæt he mid þy atre þa menniscan heortan wundað, þa semninga swa he of bendum and of brogan wæs his costunga ða he ða þam earh winnendan stræle on þam mode gefæstnode þæs Cristes cempa.

The words earh winnendan are apparently a gloss carelessly inserted in the wrong place; perhaps we should read þam earh-winnendan mode, the faintly striving soul. Earh, substantive, means an arrow; but I do not see how that sense can be given to it here. The Latin runs thus: Dum enim omnis nequitiae suæ vires versuta mente tentaret, tum veluti ab extenso arcu venenifluam desperationis sagittam totis viribus jaculavit, quousque in Christi militis mente umbone defixa pependit.

Ibid. line 5.

Verc. Fr. werigan for awerigedan. The same substitution takes place wherever the word occurs.

Ibid. line 10.

Verc. Fr. fyrena for synna.

Page 28, line 18.

Verc. Fr. wol-berendan for tweogendum.

Page 30, line 1.

Verc. Fr. feonde for bliþe.

Ibid. line 7.

Verc. Fr. hine het þæt him ne tweode no, etc.

Ibid. line 9.

Verc. Fr. Ða he se haliga Guðlac þæs word gehyrde his þæs getrywan freondes, þa wæs he on gæstlicre blisse and heofoncundre gife swiðe ġfeode [r. gefeonde] and his geleafan fæste in God sylfne getrymede and fæstnode. Syððan seo tid wæs þæt næfre þæt deoful eft wið hine þære ormodnesse wæpnum on hine sceotode.

Ibid. line 16.

Verc. Fr. tu for twegen.

Ibid. line 20.

Verc. Fr. cunedon for fandedon.

Ibid. line 21.

Verc. Fr. ussa for ure.

Ibid. line 22.

Verc. Fr. Wene ic [r. is] þæt we þe furðor ne wyllan leng swencan ne ðe mid brogan bysmrian, &c.

Page 32, line 3.

Verc. Fr. middangeardes for middaneardes.

Ibid. line 8, ff.

Verc. Fr. Ðonne gif þu þæs wilnast þæt þu of ðe Ða ærran fremednesse yfelra leahtra of-aðwea, þonne scealt þu þinne lichaman

þurh forhæfednesse weccēan, forþan swiððor swa ðu þe her on worulde wecst [qu. ? swencst] and weccest to forgifenesse þinra gylta swa ðu þonne eft bist in ecnessum getrymed fæstlicor, and swa micle swiðor swa ðu on þyssan andweardan life ma earfeða dreogest swa micle þu eft in towyrðnesse forgifest, and þanne þu bist on fæsten her on worulde astreaht, þonne bist þu ahafen for Godes eagan.

Page 32, line 18.

Verc. Fr. swa on teala micelre, etc.

Ibid. line 19.

Verc. Fr. bið to clænsigeanne se man.

Page 34, line 1.

Verc. Fr. geþence for oncnawe.

Ibid. line 3.

Verc. Fr. rec for smic.

Ibid. line 5, ff.

Verc. Fr. hie þa ealle idle and unnytte ongeat; ac þa feng to þære teala myclan andleofone, þæt wæs to þam berenan hlafe, and þone geþygde and his feorh bigferede.

Ibid. line 10.

Verc. Fr. mid wependre stefne bemurnon and wide geond þæt land waðdon; and he se geadiga wer swa gesigfæsted þa bysmornesse ealle forhogode þæra werigra gasta and him for-naht dyde.

The verb waðan, to wander, flee, is not in Bosworth.

Ibid. line 18.

Verc. Fr. cyrme for cyme.

Ibid. line 19. Hi wæron, etc.

This description has been somewhat abridged by the Anglo-Saxon translator: I give it in full, marking in italics the parts omitted in the translation.

Erant enim aspectu truces, *formâ terribiles*, capitibus magnis, collis longis, macilentâ facie, lurido vultu, squallidâ barbâ, auribus hispidis, fronte torvâ, trucibus oculis, ore fœtido, dentibus equinis, gutture flammivomo, *faucibus tortis*, labro lato, vocibus horrisonis, *comis combustis*, *bucculâ crassâ*, *pectore arduo*, *femoribus scabris*, genibus nodosis, cruribus uncis, talo tumido, plantis aversis, *ore patulo*, clamoribus raucisonis. Ita enim immensis vagitibus horrescere audiebantur, ut totam pæne a cœlo in terram intercapedinem clangisonis boatibus implerent.

The Vercelli Fragment agrees in these omissions, which is sufficient to show that it is based upon the same text as the Cotton MS., notwithstanding the material alterations introduced throughout.

Page 34, line 20.

Verc. Fr. lange for langne.

Ibid. line 21.

The word manigre (Verc. Fr. mænigre) I have replaced by mægere, in accordance with the original, macilentâ.

Ibid. line 22. orfyrme.

From or, privative, and feormian, to cleanse. Verc. Fr. bearde for beardum.

Ibid. line 23.

Verc. Fr. egeslice eagan and ondrysenlice muðas, and heora teð wæron horses tuxum gelice, and him wæron þa hracan lige afylled. Toþas (in the text) for teð is worthy of note. The same form occurs in the poetical dialogue of Saturn and Solomon, line 230. In Cod. Ex. 219, l. 22, fotas is used for fét.

Page 36, line 1.

Cott. MS. mís crocetton. Verc. Fr. misscrence tán. The latter reading I adopt in the text. Bosworth explains mis-crocetton, croaked badly. This does not come very near the original, ore patulo; and the reading misscrence tán answers much better to the words plantis aversis. Gescrencean, for-screncan, mean to trip up, supplantare.

Ælfric uses the word for-screncend to explain the name Jacob, i. e. supplanter. Hom. vol. i, p. 586. Gescrincan, forscrincan, from which these words are derivatives, mean to *shrink*, wither, intransitively. Mis-screnc (qu. ? mis-screncet) may therefore well mean distorted, shrivelled.

Page 36, line 2.

Verc. Fr. and hi swa ungemetlice brymdon and foran mid forhtlicum egesum and ungeþwærnessum þæt hit þuhte þæt hit eall betweoh, etc.

Ibid. line 5.

Verc. Fr. ylding for yldend. The termination *end* denotes an actor, *ing* or *ung*, an action. The words, Næs þa nænig yldend must therefore be explained to mean, None of them delayed; not, There was no delay.

Ibid. line 7.

Verc. Fr. gebundenum hine tugon.

Ibid. line 9.

Verc. Fr. þæt swearte fenn.

Ibid. line 9.

The Cotton MS. reads orwehtan, which Bosworth explains, without water (from or, and, wæt). The original is, cœnosis. The reading of the Verc. Fr. horwihtan, from horu, horuwe, filth, mud (like stæniht, hæriht), seems clearly the true one, and I have adopted it in the text.

Ibid. line 12.

Verc. Fr. betuh for betwux.

Ibid. line 14.

Verc. Fr. on þære þystran nihte.

Ibid. line 15.

Verc. Fr. Læton hie hine bidan ana and gestandan.

Page 36, line 17.

Verc. Fr. Mid maran brogan bysmrigan and wæcan.

Ibid. line 21.

Verc. Fr. omits the words fram þe, which come in awkwardly enough in the text.

Ibid. line 24.

Verc. Fr. in þam ondrysenlicum fiðerum betuh þa caldan facu.

Ibid. line 27.

Verc. Fr. þam sweartestum afylled swiðra genipa. Ða geseah he semninga þær ða ondrysenlican fiðeru ongen cuman þara werigra gasta, and unmæte weorod hyra þær coman togenes.

Page 38, line 2.

Verc. Fr. geþyddon for gegaderodon.

Ibid. line 4.

Verc. Fr. tintreges gomum helle dures. The Cottonian MS. reads duru, which, if retained, must be considered, I suppose, as an accusative. The passage seems to require the dative, and I have accordingly placed dura in the text. If dures be not a mere blunder of the scribes, it adds another anomaly to the declension of duru, which is properly decl. III. 3 of Rask, but takes dura and duran in the oblique cases.

Ibid. line 4.

Verc. Fr. Ða he ðær geseah þa smicendan þismas (qu. ? þrosmas) þara byrnenda liga, and þone ege þære sweartan nywylnesse, he ða sona wæs ofergeotol ealra þæra tintrega þe he fram þam werigum gastum ær dreah and drefde; and na læs þán (r. þæt an) þæt he þær þa leglican hyðe ðæs fyres upþyddan geseah and eac þa (r. þæs) fullan swefles þær geseah upgeotan.

To these latter words there is no equivalent in the Cottonian MS. They correspond, however, to a paragraph in the original.

Page 38, line 9.

Verc. Fr. ligeas for lega.

Ibid. line 13.

Verc. Fr. þara wita, and hine for þy ege swiðlice onþræc, ða cleopodon, etc.

Ibid. line 16.

Verc. Fr. on ðæs witu þisse neowolnesse.

Ibid. line 20.

Verc. Fr. þystra bearnum and forwyrde tuddor, ge syndon dustes acsan : hwa geaf eow yrmungum, etc.

Ibid. line 24.

Verc. Fr. earo for gearu.

Ibid. line 26.

Verc. Fr. bregian for egsian.

Page 40, line 5.

Verc. Fr. betuh þa dimman þystro. The Cottonian text has þa dimnysse þeostru. Dimnysse, a genitive of quality, intervenes between the substantive and its article, in place of an adjective, without disturbing the concord. See Note on p. 2, l. 9.

Ibid. line 7.

Verc. Fr. gewunigean for awunian.

Ibid. line 8.

Verc. Fr. hie sylfe in heolstre hyddon.

Page 40, line 10.

Verc. Fr. gefeannesse for gefean. The Fragment winds up here with the words: And þa æfter þam fleah se haliga Guðlac mid þam Apostole Sce Bartbolomei to heofona rices wuldre, and hine se Hælend þær onfeng, and he þær leofað and rixad in heofona rices wuldre a butan ende on ecnesse. Amen, fiat.

Ibid. line 21. Ibunt de virtute, etc.

These were the words which Furseus heard chanted by the angelic host. I refer the reader to Mr. Wright's interesting work entitled, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, for an account of the visions of that saint, and others of a similar character, which belong to the age of Guthlac.

Page 42, line 7.

Cenred began to reign A.D. 704, and in A.D. 709 went to Rome, where he ended his days.

Ibid. line 20. afyldon.

The original runs: *Illum vero intercipientes, acutis hastarum spiculis in auras levare cœperunt.* I am doubtful whether *afyldon* should be translated "they filled" or "they felled," but have adopted the latter meaning.

Page 44, line 22. þwean.

It may be proper to observe that the original has nothing equivalent to the words, *þæt he hine wolde þwean*, which would seem to imply that Guthlac's ablutions took place only every twenty days. The Latin is: *Ut assolebat, post bis denos dierum cursus tonderare devenisset.*

Page 46, line 6. þa deap-berendan wæter.

Several neuters of the third declension in *el, en, er, or*, which should regularly form their nominative and accusative plural in *u*, are found occasionally (as if belonging to the second declension), making no alteration in these cases. See p. 36, l. 9, *þa horwihtan wæter*. Bede, p. 690, l. 10 (Smith), *þa wundor*. Orosius, lib. iv, cap. 2, *þa yfelan wundor*.

Life of Guthlac, p. 72, l. 3, þa wundor. Cod. Ex., p. 111, l. 15, þurh gastlicu wundor. Beda, p. 608, l. 39, eall þa hrægel . . . ungewemmed wæron; and p. 609, l. 10, þa sylfan hrægel. Life of Guthlac, p. 90, l. 23, þa hrægl. Cod. Ex., p. 204, l. 12, tungol beoð ahyded. Cod. Ex., p. 20, l. 11, beoð wolcen towegen.

Page 46, line 10. unablinnu.

Bosworth explains this word to mean incessatio, non intermissa series, from blin or ablinnan. The Latin text has no word corresponding to it. It seems to belong to the class of neuter plurals used in an abstract sense, like eaðmetto and ofermetto. (Rask, Gram. 92.)

Ibid. line 20. befeal.

This is the perfect of a verb, befeolan, which is not given in Bosworth's Lexicon, but which occurs *infra*, p. 52, ult. *Ætfeolan*, perf. *ætfealh* is given in the Lexicons, and the Vercelli Fragment uses this word for befeal, p. 26, l. 21. There appears to be two distinct verbs, namely, *feallan*, p. *feoll*. part. *gefeallan* (conj. ii, 2, of Rask); and *feolan*, p. *feal* or *fealh* (qu. ? iii, 1, making, perhaps, folgen in the participle). As the Anglo-Saxon does not form one verb of the complex order from another of the same, I question whether there be any radical connexion between these verbs; and would suggest, as matter for inquiry, whether the verb *fyligean* or *fylgan* (conj. ii, 2, the *g* being a radical letter) be not derived from *feolan*, *fealh*. (See Rask, Gram. 347.) The *h* in the perfect points to a *g* in the root. *Befeolan*, *ætfeolan*, answer to the words *incumbere*, *insistere*, and involve the idea of *pursuing* rather than *falling*.

Page 50, line 8. sarig.

Grammar requires *sarigne*. It is difficult to say whether a reading of this kind is the result of mere carelessness in transcription, or of lax and corrupt usage. In p. 92, l. 22, we find: *Ne hyne nan man yrre geseah ne úngeornfulne*, etc., where *yrne* would be grammatically correct.

Ibid. line 14. þæt egländ.

Qu. ? *þæm eglände*. *Neah* governs the dative. In p. 58, l. 19, we find, *wel neah þam eglände*.

Page 50, line 20.

Qu. ? whether we should not read *gearnunge*, and *mildheortnysse*, according to the Latin construction; *non sui meriti, sed divinæ miserationis*. However, in p. 58, l. 16, we find: *Gif þæt Godes stihtung wære*, which may support the use of the nominative in this passage.

Ibid. line 10. 'gefere.

Properly *gefera*; and in the title we should read *geferan*. The word is of Decl. i, 2, of Rask. I abstain from correcting in the text, thinking that this spelling may be not so much an error of the scribe as a corrupt usage, occasioned by the existence of a numerous class of words in *ere* (Decl. ii, 2), to which *gefere* may have been thought to belong. In the title of chap. xviii, *Hædde* is written for *Hæddan*, and in that of chap. xvii, *abbodysse* for *abbodysan*. The latter I have corrected in the text.

Page 52, line 4. leofe-bene.

Leof, læf or leaf, *leave*. Hence *leafe-ben*, *leave-asking*.

Ibid. line 9. drencton.

MS. *dremdon*. If this reading be retained, translate, "they delighted each other." The original is, *Divinarum Scripturarum haustibus inebriarent*; from which, and from the similar use of *indrencton*, p. 72, l. 7, I have little doubt *drencton* is the true reading.

Page 54, line 22. þæs huses hrofe.

The MS. has *þam*. As a particular house is meant, it is to the word *huses* that the article must belong, and I correct accordingly. See Note on p. 2, l. 9.

Page 56, line 2. mid bliðum andwite and góde mode.

I have before noticed the use of two different cases with one preposition. Here we have the dative and ablative joined with *mid*.

Page 58, line 5. acsodon.

The verb *acsian*, like the Greek *πυνθάνομαι*, means to receive information as well as to demand it. See p. 94, l. 1.

Page 60, line 6. raxende.

This word is not to be found in Bosworth, nor in any of the Anglo-Saxon glossaries which I have consulted. The Latin runs thus: *Ipse autem, velut qui de æstuantis gurgitis fluctibus ad portum deducitur, longa suspicia imo de pectore trahens, etc.* To these latter words *raxende* appears to correspond. The word *raxed* occurs in *Piers Ploughman*, explained by Mr. Wright in the glossary, To hawk, spit. *Raux*, or *rax*, is also a north-country word, signifying to stretch (see Jameson's *Scottish Dictionary*, and Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*), probably akin to the Anglo-Saxon *ræcan*, reach, retch.

Page 64, line 23. behyddde.

For *behyddon*. It is not noticed in the grammars that the perfect (as well as the present, see Rask, *Gram.* 197) frequently takes the termination *e* for *on* in the plural, when the pronoun follows the verb. As instances, take the following: *Matt. vii, 22, Hú ne witegode we on þinum naman? Matt. xii, 3, Ne rædde ge? Matt. xxiii. 31, gyf we wæron on ure fædera dagum, nære we geferan. Matt. xxvi, 37, Hwænne gesawe we? John xv, 16, ne gecure ge me. Ælf. Hom. vol. ii, p. 350, l. 5, Ða become wit to anre dene.*

Page 66, line 11. aþer oððe.

A similar redundancy of the disjunctive *aþer* occurs in Alfred's *Orosius* (Thorpe's *Analecta*, p. 84): *Eall þæt his man aþer oððe ettan oððe erian mæg.*

Page 68, line 17. hine.

Reaf being neuter, if this reading be correct, we must suppose *hine* to refer to some masculine noun signifying a garment; *gegyrla*, perhaps.

Ibid. line 23. on þa fyrle.

German: in die ferne, into the distance.

Page 72, line 14. [bysena.]

Latin: *Divinarum scripturarum exemplis.*

Page 74, line 1. þam biscepes þegnum.

I have abstained from correcting, but have little doubt that the true reading is *þæs biscepes þegnum*, the officers of a particular bishop being meant, not bishop's-officers, as we say sheriff's-officers, indicating a distinct class of persons. In p. 70, l. 12, we find, correctly, *þæs bisceopes þegnas*.

Ibid. line 3. hwylc þincð.

MS. *þince*, in the subjunctive. But it does not seem correct to use the subjunctive after a direct interrogative. If the words *saga me* precede, so as to make the interrogative dependent, the Anglo-Saxon permits either the indicative or subjunctive to follow. The dialogues of Salomon and Saturn, and of Adrian and Ritheus, afford numerous examples of this varying usage. In the latter dialogue, Question 24, *Saga me, hwylce wihta beoð*, etc.; and Question 28, *Saga me, hwylc man wære deád*, etc.

Page 74, line 10. hárfæstlice.

MS. *árfæstlice*. Latin: In autumnali tempore.

Ibid. line 14. Aldwulfes.

Aldwulf, king of the East-Angles, began to reign A.D. 663, died A.D. 713. His daughter Ecgburh was abbess of Repandun. See Genealogy of the Kings of East-Anglia, Thorpe's Lappenberg, vol. i.

Page 76, line 13. Ceolred.

Began to reign A.D. 709, died A.D. 716. Æthelbald, the exile here mentioned, succeeded him in A.D. 716. See Genealogy of the Kings of Mercia, Thorpe's Lappenberg, vol. i.

Page 78, line 5. on gerisne.

Dr. Bosworth translates this phrase *rapinâ*, from *risan* or *gerisan*, to seize. The original certainly is: *Non in prædâ, nec in rapinâ regnum tibi dabitur*. But qu.? whether it be not from *gerisen*, fit, right; meaning jure or ratione, by right, or, in consequence of. Compare the phrases *mid rihte* and *mid gerisenum*, coupled in p. 2, l. 4.

Page 78, line 12. pæt ricu, etc.

In the original these words commence the next chapter, and are preparatory to the account of Guthlac's death. Verum quoniam humanum genus ab initio mortalis miseræ quotidie ad finem decurrit, mutatis temporibus generationes et regna mutantur, etc. A line has apparently been lost in the translation, wherein mention was made of the human race, to which hit is meant to refer. But compare p. 86, l. 2.

Ibid. line 13. se rica, etc.

These nominatives want a verb, the construction being changed, as in p. 88, ll. 13, 14.

Page 80, line 2. hine het gyrwan.

Latin: præparare cœpit. Literally, he bid himself prepare.

Page 80, line 21. mettrummys.

MS. mettrumnyse. The termination nysse for nys in the nominative occurs so frequently in the MS. hereabouts, that it may be thought to be less the blunder of the copyist than an evidence of declining attention to correctness of grammatical inflexion at the time when he wrote. Smith's Beda affords numerous instances of the same corruption.

Page 82, line 4. eago-spind.

Literally, eye-fat. The glossaries spell this word in a great variety of ways. Hagu-spind, hagu-swind, eagan-spind, eagan-swind, heago-spind, hecga-spind.

Ibid. line 10.

The original has: Tantæ ergo fidei fuit, ut mortem quæ cunctis mortalibus timenda formidandaque videtur, ille velut requiem aut præmium laboris iudicaret. The words se cupa, etc., seem introduced by mistake, and afford no sense. A phrase somewhat similar occurs p. 92, ult., where the original is: Ita ut extra humanam naturam notis ignotisque esse videretur.

Page 84, line 1. behealt.

So the MS. Beheald is the correct reading. Synt occurs for synd, p. 96, l. 4, perhaps indicating that the final *d* (as in modern German) often assumed the sound of *t*.

Ibid. line 7. bidde.

More correctly, bide. Rask, Gram. 230.

Ibid. ult. nelt.

Wyllan has no imperative mood; because, as Ælfric the grammarian observes, the will should ever be free. It is in accordance with this rule that we find nelt and ne wylt (p. 96, l. 1), the 2d person present indicative, used instead of an imperative. Yet as the will may be controlled, a real imperative (nelle) of the negative verb nyllan is also admitted. So in Latin, noli; there being no corresponding imperative to volo.

Page 86, line 8. gehiht.

Hiht means hope, joy; hence gehihtan must mean here to alleviate by inspiring hope.

Page 88, line 11. torr.

MS. topp, i. e. vertex, fastigium. The Latin has turrim; and in the metrical version, Cod. Ex. p. 180, l. 26, the word used is tor.

Heofonlic leoma.

from foldan up.

swylce fyren tor.

ryht aræred.

Ibid. line 17. ormædum.

Qu.? ormætum.

Page 90, line 7. Awolde, etc.

A very similar passage occurs in Alfred's Bede, lib. iv, cap. 30, by the help of which we may correct the errors of the text in this place. Wolde ða openlicor ætywan seo godcunde arfæstnysse (read arfæstnys)

on hu myclum wuldre se Drihtnes wer Cupbyrht æfter his deaþe lifede,
 ƿæs his lif ær þam deaþe mid healicum tacnum heofonlicra wundra
 openode and ætywde.

Ibid. line 16. circlicre.

MS. cynlice. Latin : aliis ecclesiasticis gradibus.

Page 96, line 12. his scipes-man.

Latin : quidam vir paterfamilias in provinciâ Wissa, without any
 mention of Athelbald. Probably the true reading is hiwscipes-man,
 and the words, þæs foresprecenan wræccan Aþelbaldes, should be
 omitted.

Ibid. line 13. Wissa.

The province of the Gewissas or West Saxons, I presume. See
 Thorpe's Lappenberg, vol. i, p. 109.

Ibid. line 14. fleo.

Latin : albugo. A white spot in the eye. Written also fleah.
 Somner gives the word eag-flea, in the same sense.

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